Autobiographical Notes of Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha

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The Autobiographical Notes OF Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha

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Dr. Ganganatha Jha

FOREWORD

We are glad to put before the scholars of Indology, the Autobiographical Notes of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Sir Ganga Natha Jha. Dr. Hetukar Jha at the request of Dr. Aditya Natha Jha, the youngest son of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit G. N. Jha, has put in a shape the scattered notes written by Panditji himself at different times. During his retirement Panditji wrote occasionally in the **'Leader'** some articles under the pseudo-nym **'Dreamer'**. We are trying to collect these articles and we propose to publish them in this Journal, as early as possible. Panditji was the greatest Sanskrit scholar of Northern India in the 20th century and one wishes that his complete biography may be written by a competent person. He was an **'Influence'** on all those who came into contact with him in his various fields of activity. He inspired his pupils to a great extent and all of them worship him. His colleagues had genuine respect for his unostentatious life and simple living. His pupils have been instrumental in teaching Sanskrit and encouraging its study after him.

We are grateful to Dr. Hetukar Jha for editing the Autobiographical Notes and we are sure they will be appreciated by Panditji's pupils and admirers. Dr. Harihar Jha, the Acting Principal, has helped in bringing out this volume and for it he deserves our thanks. Dr. Mrs. Maya Malaviya saw the work through the Press and we highly appreciate her service.

9th August, 1976 (B. R. Saksena)

Allahabad. **Chief Editor**

PREFACE

We have great pleasure to present our readers with the **Autobiographical Notes** of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha in the XXXth volume of our **Journal** It is a fit homage to the great scholar who had in him a rare combination of the traditional erudition and critical approach and the wide outlook of the modern scholarship. We owe much to Dr. Ganganatha Jha. Without his works on Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya and Vedānta, the European as well as the Indian scholars could not have succeeded in their contributions.

The existence of this work was brought to our notice first in the year 1974 when we were preparing for the Centenary celebrations of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. We invited Dr. Hetukar Jha of Patna University to participate in our functions and he was kind enough to read out some selected portions of the **Autobiographical Notes** in the presence of scholars and lovers of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. It was at that time that we decided to take up this honourable work of publishing the **Autobiographical Notes of Dr. Ganganatha Jha**. Due to circumstances, beyond our control, its printing is much delayed and for this we beg to offer our sincere apologies to our readers.

This work has never been published before and brings out many interesting facets of the life of late Dr. Ganganatha Jha which have so far remained unknown even to his close associates, disciples and lovers. Apart from this, the facts about the conditions prevailing in the country in general and educational, social and political in particular, are also brought to the notice of the readers. We earnestly believe that this work will be a valuable addition in the list of the Autobiographies published so far and will be a veritable source of inspiration for the students and scholars of Indology.

We wanted to give a plate or two of the original notes in this volume but unfortunately we could not do so because the original manuscript is missing. However, a photo-copy of his original notes on a Vedic mantra, found in one of the books of his personal collection (A. A. Macdonell's (**A Vedic Reader for Students**) has been given for perusal of our readers.

We are grateful to Dr. Hetukar Jha without whose cooperation this work could not have been published. We express our gratitude to the respected members of the Board of Editors, particularly the Chief Editor Dr. Babu Ram Saksena under whose kind guidance this volume has been published. We express our gratitude to honourable Mr. D. P. Yadav, Deputy Education Minister and Chairman, Shasi Parishad, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan and to Dr. P. C. Sharma, Director, Reshtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, but for whose blessings and inspiration, it would not have been possible for this work to see the light of the day. Our thanks are due to Dr. Kishora Natha Jha who first informed us about the existence of these **Autobiographical Notes** and successfully negotiated the matter of its publication. Our thanks are also due to Dr. Brahmamitra Avasthi, Reader and the then Acting Principal of this Vidyapeetha who with great enthusiasm arranged for its publication. We express our appreciation and thanks to Dr. (Mrs.) Maya Malaviya for the meticulous care which she has taken in reading the press-copy, correcting the proofs and in preparation of this volume.

We appreciate the services of the Shakuntala Mudranalaya for their nice printing.

Allahabad
August 15th, 1976.

HARIHAR JHA
Reader and Acting Principal

INTRODUCTION

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, the account of whose life from his own pen is presented here, it is said, used to write at least eighty pages daily. His inwardness in Sanskrit learning and culture was of too high an order to fail him even about the subtlest points of Mimansa and Nyaya sutras while translating them into English. His zeal for understanding the Indian systems of philosophy, translating and reflecting upon it regularly carried him far in his pursuit and his life-pattern appears now as a manifestation of that very zeal. Most of the time it is said, he was seen doing something—either writing or reading. His life is full of the accounts of this passion-and this was his only passion. He took it in the spirit of **tapasya.** This **tapasya** continued till the last breath producing at quick intervals those volumes which opened the gates for scholars to Mimansa, Nyaya, Dharmashastra etc. and will stay as gems of the old Sanskrit tradition.

The pages that follow contribute to the source for the social history of India of the late nineteenth and early tweantieth century. This period has few parallels in the history of India. A combination of men who were giants in their respective fields such as education, politics, law etc. dominated this period by transcending their colonial environment and challenging it. The capacity to inspire a forward looking sense and broad perspective was their only weapon to fight the traditional decadence on the one hand and the colonial rule on the other. Allahabad was one of the important centres of their activities and it was with Allahabad more than any other place that Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha associated himself. His reminiscences present glimpses of events that reveal to us the social and educational scene of India before Independence. The entire account appears as a document prepared by a keen observer, who has meticulously recorded, without imposing himself anywhere, events of such varied nature as pandits' disputations on the one hand and intrigues in the establishment of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and Banaras Hindu University on the other. No amount of analyses or interpretations could make things more clear or more

understandable than the account itself which does not hide anything for self-defence or self-justification. From beginning to end, there is one thing that apparently strikes one and that is the catholicity of the mind of the author.

It is all a sad trick of destiny that such a person's autobiographical notes remained lost for a long time. More than a generation has passed since his death. In the mean time, the family suffered a series of setbacks by the premature death of Dr. Amaranatha Jha first and then all the brothers, one after another, relatively young. Yet, the family still lives in the memory of many and we hope, will continue to live in future through the works of the father—Ganganatha and the sons—particularly Amaranatha and Adityanatha.

A few months before his death, Dr. Adityanatha Jha gave a copy of these notes to me to edit them. Perhaps, it was because of the heavy load of the affairs of Delhi Administration (he was Lt. Governor of Delhi at that time) that he thought of asking me to take up this task, more an obligation than a task to me, otherwise who other than him after the death of Dr. Amaranatha Jha was the most suitable person for this task in the whole family ?

I felt as I read these notes that Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha wrote portion after portion from his memory and later probably due to his weak health towards the end of his life time, he could not devote enough time and energy to all that his memory had yielded. It has taken me a great deal of time to finally bring the while thing to its present shape. I leave it to learned readers to judge and forgive my incompetence in restructuring the frame that carries the self-portrait of one who himself was a master craftsman in this art.

While working on these notes I used to consult many friends for a number of things. All of them deserve my thanks. I am thankful particularly to Prof. Damodar Thakur, D. P. I., Bihar, and Dr. Surendra Gopal, Department of History, Patna University, for their valuable suggestions. The authorities of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha were kind enough to publish these notes. My debt to them is great. In spite of my best efforts, I regret that circumstances did not permit me to correct all the proofs. It is a pity. But, as it is impossible now to do anything about this, I can only hope to be forgiven on this account.

Hetukar Jha

CONTENTS

Handwriting of Dr. Ganganatha Jha

चित्राश्चायनीया उषस पुरस्तात् पूर्वस्यां दिश्यस्थु । तिष्ठन्ति । व्याप्ता उत्सर्ग । तत्र दृष्टान्त । अध्वरेषु मिता स्वाता स्वरवो यूप इव । ते यथा वेद्या पुरतो भासन्ते, तद्वत् । यद्यपि स्वरुशब्दो यूपच्छिन्न-पतितप्रथम[illegible]शकलवाची य प्रथम शकल [illegible]पतेत् स स्वरु कार्य इत्युक्तत्वात् तथाप्यत्र [illegible] स्वरव । ता व्रजस्य [illegible] वारकस्य तमसो द्वारा [illegible] व्युच्छ-न्ती: शुचयो दीप्ता पावका शोधि[illegible]का अवृन् । अवृणवन् ।

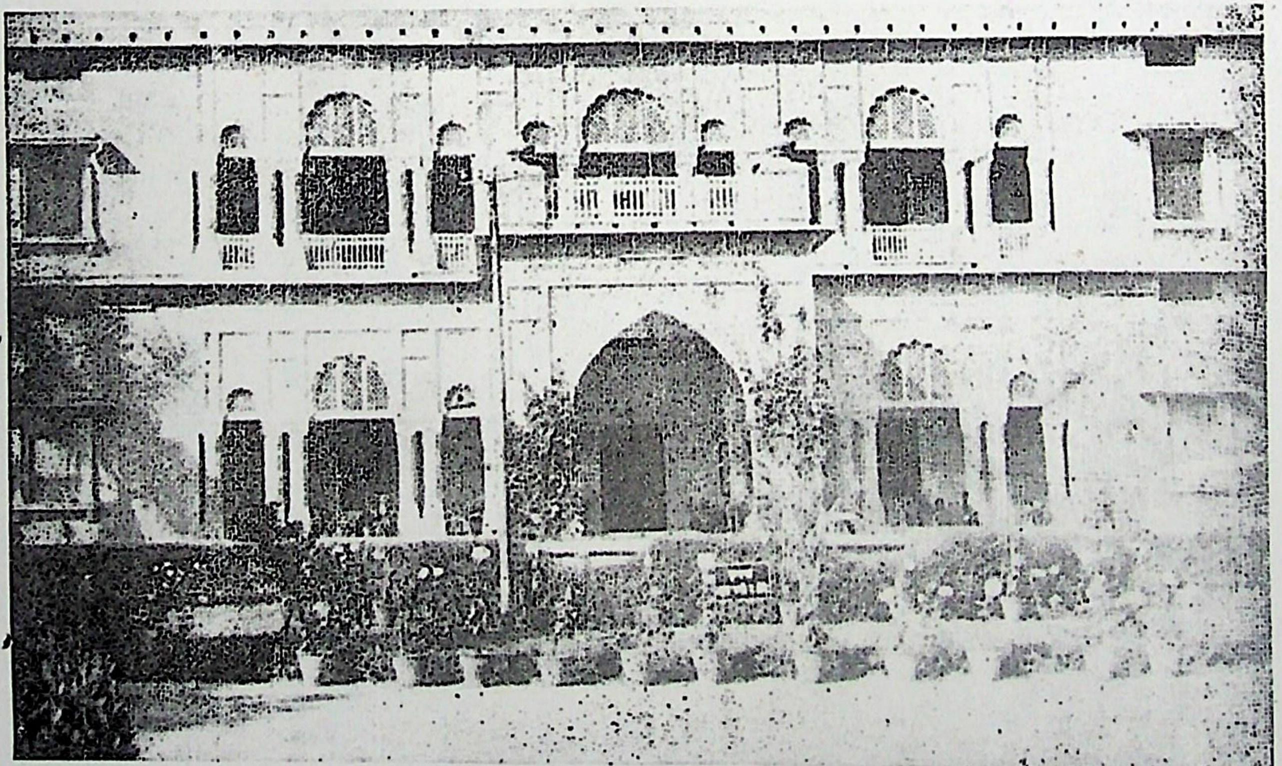
। पावक has to be read as पवक, especially in the second half, as the arrangement of [illegible] in metre in this half is more rigid. In the first half it may be pronounced in any way.

चित्रा - brilliant

स्वरु = यज्ञस्तम्भ in later B literature, it has another meaning - यूप used to be very beautifully ornamented. The animal was tethered to it, and at the end of the rope there is a chip of the wood, which, after going round and round the यूप - used to slip in(to) the hole. Then the animal could not come away. If स्वरु were taken to be उपमान of उषस - it must have been a very beautiful thing.

अवृन् opened wide the doors (of (the व्रज (of the enclosure) pen) of darkness

The Building of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad



गङ्गानाथप्रसृमरयशश्चन्द्रिकाधौतहर्म्यं कूजद्विहद्विहगविहानेकगीताभिरामम् ।
काले काले कुसुमितनवारामगाढामोदिताशं विद्यापीठं जयतु जगतां भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥

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(Babu Ram Saksena)
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1. FAMILY-PARENTAGE

The Brahmanas of Mithila have been fortunate in possessing a unique and full record of their personal history from the fourteenth century to the present day. The well known Raja Hari Singh Dev of Mithila, like a similar king in Bengal, desired to regulate the gradation among Brahmanas. For the purpose of determining the spiritual and religious character of each individual he sent out, it is related, an invitation to all Brahmanas to a meal. They were asked to come after having completed their daily religious duties. The man who came earliest was put down at the bottom of the list. So the process went on, till evening when only thirteen men were left who had not completed their religious duties till then. These thirteen men were put at the top of the Brahmana society. The best families among Maithil Brahmanas are able to trace their descent from one of these thirteen men. This complete record of the names of all Brahmanas was compiled by the same king in the form of a book which came to be called the—*Panji-Prabandha.* * Manuscripts of this *Prabandha* are still available in pretty large numbers in the possession of men to whom the book has descended by inheritence and who on this account have been called *Panjikaras.* Even today no marriage among Maithil Brahmanas takes place until one of these *Panjikaras* has given a certificate in writing to the effect that the parties concerned do not fall within the prohibited degrees of relationship. The compilation was made in the year 1248 of the Saka era, i. e. 1326 A. D. as mentioned in the opening verse of the *Panji-Prabandha.* These professional *Panjikaras* or geneologists have ever since continued to keep the recorded lists up-to-date by roaming about from village to village, making additions of all new births and marriages.

These original Brahman families came to be known after the villages where they lived. They continue to be known even today. One of these thirteen families lived in village Pali, 10 or 12 miles to the North West of the present

* This was a popular view regarding the origin of *Panji-Prabandha* in Mithila before 1940—editor.

town of Darbhanga and they became known as *paliwar*. After some centuries the main branch of the family migrated to another village Mahisi, 30 or 35 miles to the South East of Darbhanga. Since then they have been known as 'Paliwar-Mahisi.' The practice of associating the original dwelling place with one's name is also followed in the south.

The above mentioned thirteen men were given the title of 'Avadāta' which means absolutely pure; and as they were great Vedic scholars they were called Śrotriya, which connotes the qualification that the man has thoroughly studied at least one *Śākhā* of the Veda. It is on this basis that the descendents of these people continue to be called Śrotriyas. "*Vedasyaikaikāṃ Śākhāmadhītya Śrotriyo bhavati*," says Āpastamba.

Some members of this family migrated to the well known village Sarisab. The name of our ancestor who lived at Sarisab was Lakshmideva Jha, my great-great grand father. Since then our family has been living in this village occupying different parts as the family became larger. Our present homestead was built by my father, Tirthanath Jha, better known as Dharanath Jha. This homestead we still occupy.

Being Vedic scholars and men of simple tastes these families were never in affluent circumstances. But they were happy and contented with whatever their home land yielded in the shape of fruits and roots and occasionally, grains.

In the 18th century, however, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, an ancestor of the present Maharaja Dhiraj, brought together all those scattered families and settled them in villages within a radius of about twenty miles in the district of Darbhanga, Darbhanga itself being the western most limit of this circle. Ever since then there has been close relationship between the Maharaja of Darbhanga and these Śrotriya families and no family was allowed by the Maharaja to suffer privation. In consideration of this the Śrotriyas acknowledged the Maharaja as the Head of their clan and even today no marriage is performed among Śrotriyas without the written permission of the Maharaja Dhiraj of Darbhanga.

My great grand father was a great Vaiyākaraṇa and is mentioned in the *Panji*-book as 'Vaiyākaraṇa Amritanatha'. He had received the highest honour of Paṇditship at the hands of the then Maharaja of Darbhanga.

A few words about this honour : when the Raj of Mithila was given by Emperor Akbar as a gift to Mahesha Thakur, * the founder of Darbhanga Raj, the direct ancestor of the present Maharaja of Darbhanga, he established his supremacy also in the realm of learning. Himself a Naiyāyika of great fame, he established a regular test for all young and aspiring pandits in the land and in a very short time the institution became so firmly established that no Pandit in Mithila was regarded as a great man of learning until he had passed that test, in honour of which each successful man got from the Maharaja's own hands, a pair of dhoties. The writer of these reminiscences was himself the recepient of this honour in the last year of the last century.

My great grand father and grand father lived the life of good Brahmanas, living at home, happy and contented, with no ambitions whatsoever. My father was married for the first time in the village of Ganguli. Of this marriage he had two children, a son and daughter. Both of them died early. My father had the reputation of being a fine type of Brahman, devoting the whole of his mornings to his religious duties, chief among which was the repeating of the '*Gāyatrī Mantra*' thousand times standing. This he continued to do to the end of his life. In addition to this he had the reputation of being a good athlete and his body was shapely and well-developed through the performance of strenuous exercises.

On my mother's side we are descended from the aforesaid founder of the Darbhanga Raj. Maharaja Madhava Singh was the Maharaja of Darbhanga at the time of the permanant settlement in Bengal. After a busy and strenuous life he died at Banaras and was succeeded by his second son Chhatra Singh; his first son Vishnu Singh having died at the early age of 16. Chhatra Singh had two sons. The elder one Rudra Singh became Maharaja and the second son was Vasudeva Singh. The latter had no sons. He died at the comparatively early age of 40 and left three daughters. My mother Rama Kashi Devi was the eldest among these. She was so named because she was born at Kashi where her parents were residing at Ramghat.

Before his death my grand father, Vasudeva Singh, had intimated to

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* Recent researches on History of Mithila do not conform to this view—editor.

his wife that he would like his eldest girl to be married to my father, the above mentioned Dharanath Jha. This marriage accordingly, came about early. Since then my father had a happy life with no grief or trouble of any kind. In fact I do not remember to have ever seen him suffering even from a headache. It was only after the age of sixty five that he had a serious attack of fever which eventually after two years carried him away. He had a noble presence and a noble character. He commanded the respect of all his relations and neighbours to the end of his life. He was an object of special reverence to the then young Maharja Lakshmishwara Singh of Darbhanga, who used to say that he regarded my father as the best type of Śrotriya Brahmana.

The marriage of my parents proved a happy one. Eight children were born, the first three being boys, of whom I was the youngest; two sisters came after me and then two brothers and lastly a sister. I remember to have been told when I grew up that my birth was somewhat of a disappointment to the family; as after two boys they wanted a girl; but this disappointment apparently did not last long; they seem to have taken to me unusually kindly and I was assured by them when I grew up that I was an ideal child and never gave any body any trouble. This kindly feeling towards me continued throughout life and my father as well as my mother at the point of death sent for me alone of their children to their side. I have been very lucky in this respect; I do not remember to have been even spoken to harshly by anyone throughout my life.

2. EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

We three brothers grew up together living at Gandhwari with our maternal grandmother. Our eldest brother, Vindhyanath was a precocious child and soon, i. e. before the age of ten he came to be regarded as the coming head of the family. My grand mother, good lady of the old type that she was, got him married immediately after his *Upanayana*; i. e. at the age of nine. And I have still a vivid recollection of the bride that was brought in. She was four years old, of the same age as myself; and she had to come to our place along with her nurse. From our earliest childhood, therefore, though I cherished the deepest affection for my eldest brother, this feeling was always tinged with one of respect and even at that age I remember I could not keep myself away from him for long. He was five years senior to me and he reciprocated the affection as that of the elder to the younger. This continued as long as he lived and even in later life when we became separated there was not a single day on which we did not exchange letters; and in the end his serious illness was indicated to me by the non-receipt of his daily postcard.

My real companion in life from childhood and onwards was my second brother. He was only two years my senior, but there was no feeling of seniority. We were perfect equals and from morning till eve we were scarcely apart, in study or play or even in sleep.

The first most vivid recollection of my childhood is that of a scene that happened when I was scarcely a year old. My second brother, Gaṇanath by name, was seen by me crying with blood oozing out from his mouth. This was the result of chillies having been rubbed into his mouth as a chastisement for eating clay.

The next scene that comes before my eyes was when in the fifth year of my age, according to the rules of the Śāstras, I was initiated into the mysteries of the Alphabet and used to sit with chalk in hand shaping out the letters on the bare ground under the guidance of Pandits whom my grand mother emp-

loyed and from two of whom I had the good fortune of receiving lessons in the highest branches of Sanskrit learning later in life at Benares. We had no slates or pencils and even the chalk that I have mentioned consisted of pieces of peculiarly smooth kind of clay kneaded and rolled into small bright pieces. At the end of the lesson we were told to rub out all the letters that were written with our hands and to smear the body with the dust attaching to our hands. I have a feeling that we were told that in this way all the learning for which the alphabets stood would enter into our little bodies. Along with this I was taught to read Sanskrit verses of which I became very fond. This fondness stuck to me throughout life.

My elder brothers being by this time ten and seven years of age respectively had been put to learning English and Persian. The latter was the relic of the days of the Bengal Nawabs which had not till then become entirely obliterated. I was myself later on put under a Khalifaji for about two years. But all that remained of the learning imparted to me were two letters "Alif" and "Be".

My brother's English tutor had, I recall, peculiar notions of discipline. He used to apply the cane mercilessly, and I recall the most tragi-comic scenes of later days when this tutor used to come to my brother who had by that time entered the Maharaja's service and was in a position to help him in various ways. The man had the frankness to tell my brother that he would be lost in life if my brother remembered his behaviour as his private tutor and admitted that he was needlessly strict. My brother and every one of us used to make great fun of him at the time and he took it all in very good spirit.

This tutor was a resident of Darbhanga, Munshi Kali Prasad by name. He had for sometime served on the Railway staff and had an aptitude for various kinds of useful work. He had also literary ambitions. My brother used to be taught a book in which I remember there was a glossary of Hindi and Urdu or Persian terms. One line of this I still remember,

"Vāhid ek, sānī hai dūjā
Butkhānā mandap, parasta hai pūjā."

I forget the exact name of the book. Munshi Kali Prasad conceived the plan of a similar glossary of English and Hindi terms which later in life he got printed. Unluckily I do not remember any line of this work.

In 1878-79 my grand mother decided to go to Benares. She was too orthodox to travel by rail; so a fleet of boats had to be engaged. The Ganga flows along the district of Darbhanga; the nearest point from where we started was forty miles from the town of Darbhanga. The particular ghat was known at that time as Chamtha-ghat. This also used to be the terminus of the Railway line which had only recently been constructed from Darbhanga. I have most happy recollection of this boat-journey to Benares. It took us about a month. The month was the pleasant one of Phalgun, February—March, neither very hot nor very cold. And the whole paraphernalia consisted of not only human beings in the shape of relations numbering more than thirty, but also of several cows whom grand mother used to feed with her own hands. One of these house-boats carried Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Rajnath Mishra with his brothers along with a large number of his senior students, among whom was Pandit Jayadeva Mishra, Mahamahopadhyaya. After an early bath in the river, the boats started and continued moving till about 9 or 10, when a halt was made at a previously fixed camp for cooking and breakfast; after which the journey was continued till the evening when a halt was made for the night. It took us a month to reach Benares. Vegetables and other articles of food were picked up enroute in the towns that we passed—such as Barh, Patna, Arrah, Buxar, Zamania, Gazipur.

The whole of this large family stayed at Benares for more than a year. I was then only six or seven years old, and was being trained in some sort of Sanskrit Grammar; while my elder brothers were having regular lessons in Sanskrit Grammar through the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* and also the Veda. Even at this early age I was very much impressed by the learning displayed by the Pandits at the regular Sabhās that used to be a very common feature at Benares during those days. One such Sabhā was held at our place to which a large number of Pandits perhaps 500 were invited and given Rs. 10/– each. The chief function at these Sabhās used to be the holding of discussions called *Śāstrārtha*. It was at this Sabhā that I saw for the first time the world-famous Pandit Bala Shastri along with his four distinguished pupils, viz. Shiva Kumara Mishra, Damodara Shastri, Gangadhara Shastri and Tatya Shastri, all of whom subsequently became Mahamahopadhyayas, and the first of these four lived long enough and laboured hard enough to secure a time that outshone the name of his great Guru who died at a very early age.

Pt. Bala Shastri was so impressed by the piety of my father that a few days later he came to visit him and I fully remember his putting a few questions to my elder brothers on the *Raghuvaṃśa*. I had no other opportunity to see this great Pandit, as he died before I went to Benares for my studies.

During this year at Benares our life was free and easy and we used to roam about the Ghats and Temples quite freely. I have pleasant recollection of the way in which we witnessed the famous Ramalila conducted by the Maharaja of Benares at Rama Nagar.

A few words here regarding our relations with the Maharaja of Benares : Maharaja Udit Narayan Singh of Benares had adopted Maharaja Ishwari Prasad Narayan Singh who was the Maharaja during our stay there. This Maharaja, Ishwari Prasad Narayan Singh, was succeeded by his adopted nephew Maharaja Prabhu Narayan Singh who was succeeded by his son Maharaja Aditya Narayan Singh, who has recently died. The said Maharaja Udit Narayan Singh contracted friendship within the holy waters of the Ganga with Maharaja Chhatra Singh of Darbhanga who was my maternal great grand father. Subsequently my maternal grand father, Maharaja Kumar Vasudeva Singh, also came to Benares and stayed there for a long time and the old friendship between the two families was renewed between my grand father and the Maharaja of Benares, Ishwari Prasad Narayan Singh, the great grand father of the present Maharaja. This relationship continued to be maintained till the end of the late Maharaja who continued to treat us as cousins.

It was in accordance with this relationship that we three brothers were invited by the Benares Durbar to attend the Ramlila regularly and everyday in the evening a boat used to come for us to the Dashashwamedh ghat which was nearest to the house in which we were living. We went over to Ramnagar, had our dinner there and were taken on two howda-elephants to see the Lilas. I as a little boy went to sleep on the elephant and I have no idea how I came back during the night or in the morning to our house in Benares. This routine was carried out daily during the whole month that the Ramlila usually takes.

My maternal grandfather when at Benaras won high reputation among the pandits. He was well versed in the Śāstras and at a sabhā of pandits whom he had invited, requested them to solve a difficulty for him. There is a *Śruti* text to the effect, "*Aśūnyaṃ tu karaṃ kuryāt hiraṇyarajataiḥ kuśaiḥ*", and



Dr. Ganganatha Jha with his gurū Mm. Jayadeva Mishra

the difficulty was in the word "*hiraṇyarajataiḥ*", which being a copulation compound of two terms "*hiraṇya*" and "*rajata*" should have taken the dual not the plural ending. The pandits present, though among them was the great pandit Rajaram Shastri, the guru of Pt. Bala Shastri, could not give him a satisfactory explanation. When later in life, I discovered the correct explanation, how sorry I was that my grandfather was not alive at the time to pat me on the back. The right explanation dawned upon me when I found the whole text :

> "*Tarjanyām rajataṃ dhāryam svarṇam dhāryamanāmikayā,*
>
> *Eṣa eva kuśaḥ śākte na ca vanyakuśaḥ*
>
> *Ānāmyam tu karam kuryāt hiraṇyarajataiḥ kuśaiḥ*"

This clearly shows that what "*hiraṇyarajataiḥ*" stands for, is "*hiraṇyarajatamayaiḥ*" and as the word qualifies the plural noun "*kuśaiḥ*", it is only right that it should take the plural ending. The meaning is that for the worshipper of Śakti "kuśa" consists of gold and silver, not the grass.

This year spent at Benaras tended much to strengthen my innate affection for the pandits. Some of the paṇdits who accompanied us in this boat-journey to Benaras told me later in life that it was in course of this journey that they discovered a peculiar intuitive faculty of my mind. This sort of boat-journey goes on along the twistings of the river, so that people are prone to lose all sense of direction, every morning, therefore, as the bathing had to be done with the face towards the East, people could not determine among themselves which was the East; somehow or other they discovered that I could indicate this unerringly and since then throughout the journey I was always called in at the time to give my verdict. It was in this year, too, that the family visited Prayaga, of course on boat again, and I have very faint, though pleasant, recollection of our month's stay here. On our return from Benares the family spent a month on the banks of the Ganga at the Chamtha Ghāt from where we had started. It took fifteen days for the boats to go back down the current and the up-ward journey had taken a month. It was during this stay of the family at the Ghāt that the most momentous decision of our life was taken. It so happened that the Maharaja of Darbhanga was returning from a Shikār party and proceeding to Darbhanga. He stayed at the Ghāt and had his breakfast at my grandmother's place. Luckily for us he took a fancy to us three brothers and proposed to grand-mother that she should allow us to stay at Darbhanga to be

educated under his guidance. Luckily again for us, grandmother readily agreed, and we were taken to Darbhanga, and forthwith put into the Darbhanga Raj School, which at that time in 1879-80 was only a middle English School. Soon after 1880 it was raised to the High School standard. We were at school along with half a dozen other boys related to the Raj and the Maharaja, still a young man, took a direct interest in our education and kept a vigilant though unobtrusive eye on our conduct. We had orders to see him only on Sundays, when he spent more than an hour with us finding out what and how we had learnt. After each school annual examination he used to call us and feed with "*Rasagullas.*" those who had passed, ignoring entirely those who had not. All this care and kindness had a most beneficial effect upon our life and character and the affection and loyalty in our mind that had its start at this early age continued all through life, which sometimes led us into trouble.

I spent seven years in Darbhanga at school and left it only after passing the High School examination; which was at that time called the Entrance Examination, which was conducted by the Calcutta University; which at that time had in its control the whole of Northern India from Nagpur upwards. Of these years I have many happy recollections, but the best of these are the two double promotions that I had at school. Of the earlier one I donot recollect the circumstances. It was in the lower most forms of the school. Of the second double promotion, however, I distinctly remember all the details, as I was at that time in the class which was styled at that time the third, though according to the present style it would be the 8th. Up to this year, perhaps it was 1883 or 84, the school and the University session used to follow the course of the natural year. All annual examinations including the University ones were finished before the Christmas holidays, which was known as the winter vacation and lasted from three to four weeks. It was during the year in question that the authorities took it into their head to have the session as it is now, from April I to March 31, so that those of us who would have had our promotion in January had to wait for them till April. The Education Authorities decided, therefore to hold a stiff class test in the middle of the session and to promote to the higher class specially brilliant students picked out as a result of this test, so that, the authorities argued, the brilliant boys might not suffer from the prolongation of the session. At this examination of our class three of us were picked

out. My elder brother Gananath, myself, and another boy named Mahendra Prasad, who later in life became a Vakil practising at Madhubani, a Sub-division of Darbhanga. We three were thereupon promoted to the 'second' class and, true to the expectation of my teachers, I obtained a high position in the annual examination of that higher class, securing the second position. This led us on into the 'first' or Entrance class, the highest class at school. During this class somehow there was some sort of a set-back in my studies, whether due to the fact that my eldest brother had passed on from Darbhanga School and was staying at Benares, or that the Maharaja was spending the greater part of his time at Calcutta, having become a member of the Imperial Legislative Council of those days and specially busy with Bengal Tenancy Legislation, which is still engaging the attention of the Government and people. It was during these controversies, that the Maharaja became famous as a politician, free from the abject fear of Government that used to be the characteristic feature at that time of our prominent Indians, specially landlords. He expressed his views so fearlessly that the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, who took a kindly interest in the Maharaja, told him after one of his speeches, that his hot young blood sometimes carried him too far.

It was due to this and also perhaps to some other causes that my studies became rather slack, as a result of which though I passed the Entrance Examination at the proper time, it was only in the third division which was very disappointing to all my friends and relations especially the Maharaja, which I myself felt, yet, knowing how badly I had neglected my studies, was thankful, that I passed at all.

In this same year i. e. 1886, my eldest brother Vindhyanath passed the Intermediate examination known at that time as the 'first examination in Art's (F. A·) of the University. He had as his tutors Dr. Venis, just fresh from oxford, Babu Umesh Chandra Sanyal, the Professor of Mathematics, the Chemist B. Abinaya Charan Sanyal and there professor of Sanskrit Pt. Vindhya Prasad. All these teachers had become favourably impressed with my brother's aptitude. So they pressed him to see that I also was sent to Benares for higher studies. Luckily this happened to be the keen desire of the Maharaja of Darbhanga himself. He also remembered that in his minority he had been a student at the Benares Queen's College, and had, therefore, all through his life a soft corner in his heart for that institution. So in the month of July, 1886, I was

duly admitted to the Queen's College and after a month or two became one of the favourite pupils of the aforesaid Professors, and also of the Principal of the college, the late Dr. Thibaut.

A word here about the course of study at the time : There was no bifurcation into the 'Arts' and 'Science' up to the Intermediate stage. All were to go through the same course which consisted of the following—

(1) English-Prose and poetry

(2) A Classical Language.

(3) History of Greece and Rome (India and England having been done at the Entrance stage).

(4) Logic

(5) Physics :—Properties of Matter; heat, Light, Electricity, Magnetism.

(6) Mathematics :—Arithmatic (whole), Algebra (up to Exponential Theorem),

Logarithms, Geometry, Conicsections, Mensuration & Trigonometry,

The bifurcation came after the Intermediate stage, when one could offer either the 'A' course, consisting of—

(1) English

(2) Philosophy or History and Economics (Economics had not till then become a seperate subject of study)

(3) A Classical Language,

or the 'B' course comprising—

(1) English

(2) Physics and Chemistry

(3) Mathematics.

This scheme had thus advantage over the later that it gave cultural gronding —literary as well as scientific—for all students alike.

The solicitude of the Maharaja for our all round welfare was shown nobtrusively in various ways, as the following anecdotes will show.

As a boy I used to be inclined to be fat. There was another boy among ur relations who was older and taller than myself. This boy was praised by

his father as being very strong, drinking the milk of six cows and performin wonderful exercises. The Maharaja turned towards me and asked me if I would wrestle with the boy. I naturally demurred. Thereupon he took me aside and told me that the boy was stupid and all I had to do was to pull him by the legs and he would tumble down. As a further inducement he told me that if I brought the boy down I would receive from the Raj half a seer of Rasagullā daily. This decided me and before a large gathering of our relations the wrestling took place and in accordance with the instructions I had received I pulled the boy's legs and he tumbled down. This Rasagulla was duly given to me and continued for many years; in fact till I was more than thirty years of age and it stopped only when I had to leave Darbhanga and join the U. P. Educational service.

All my well wishers were anxious at the rate that I was getting stout and my father and the Maharaja both tried their best to induce me to take exercise. I, however, never took to them seriously. They put me into all sorts of humiliating positions to which a fat boy can be put, and the Maharaja also provided me with a nice riding pony which I never made to go any faster than a simple walk. Having heard this the Maharaja got the pony before himself and had me put upon the pony and told some of my companions to make the pony run. Thereupon I let the reins go and began to weep.

The Maharaja put an end to my riding experiences and ordered his chief pahalwan, the famous Shiva Nandan Jha, to make me do Indian exercises and if I did not do anything he should just rub my protruding belly. Somehow this also failed. Thereupon the Maharaja said one day "The boy will never take seriously to physical exercises. But he is a studious boy, so let us load him with hard intellectual work which might serve to reduce his fat." My school work they did not think sufficient for me, so I was put under a Maharāstra gentleman, a clerk in the Maharaja's office, Bhola Nath Balhay by name, and was made to go through the Veda in the right orthodox style. In a few days I picked up the scheme with which Vedic accents are marked and one day while my teacher was instructing me I told him that what he said was not right as the marks in the book indicated some thing quite different. He, poor man, had left off the study of the Veda several years ago, so, when confronted with the book, said "Alright say it in the way it is indicated in the book." "I

at once complained of this to the Maharaja and told him that it was no good reading with a man who did not know the subject. The Maharaja laughed at this and there ended my Vedic study and all forced attempt to reduce my fat. It may be mentioned here that when after finishing my college studies I succeeded in reducing my fat by some-what heroic means, the Maharaja was highly gratified and said "You are quite a slim young man now."

Another very importent turning point in my life was when I came to Benares for my further study, and there came into contact with Govind Das.

He was at the Queen's college, reading in the seeond year class, when I joined in the first year class. My brother had known him already, but not intimately and yet the very day that I saw him at the college, it appeared to me as if I had met a life-long friend. And from that moment our friendship grew, which lasted till his death. The extent of this friendship may, be gauged from the fact that in one of his books, which he presented to me, he inscribed the well known line from Tennyson, "more than my brothers are to me." This contact with a family which had already acquired the reputation of having the "best boys" in Banares was a Godsend to me., otherwise thrown upon my own resources in the city of Benares at the tender age of fourteen I do not think what would have become of me. Govinda Dasa's younger brother was the now famous Dr. Bhagwan Dasa and there were two another younger brothers junior to him, Radha Charan, who retired as a Deputy Collector and died at an early age and the second Sita Ram who is still alive. My relations with the family became and continued to be very intimate; so much so that after one or two years stay at Benares I spent greater part of the day at their residence in Durgā-kuṛda. The only other family with which B. Govind Dasa's family was intimate and with which I also became intimate later on was the well-known Mittra family of Benares of whom the senior most among our friends is happily still alive in the person of B. Upendra Nath Basu. Two members of this family were reading with me a. college, Kali Dasa Mittra and his younger brother Kali Charan Mittra, both of them now dead. One regular visitor at Durgā Kuṇda was Pt.. Hari Nath, one of the best pandits at Benaras who was also Professor at the Benaras Sanskrit College. The other regular member of the group was Pt. Ḫari Shastri Manekar, called by us Hari Bhatt, who was the private tutor of Govind Das,. his brother and subsequently also his sons.

It can thus be seen that the atmosphere in which I found myself was a purely Sanskritic one. Apart from college trivialities our conversation always turned upon Sanskrit Literature in its various aspects. Lively were the discussions on philosophical topics between Pt. Hari Nath and Bhagwan Dass who was then preparing for his M. A. examination in philosophy. I was in those days rather shy, and so was for several months only a silent though interested, listener. These serious discussions were only occasional. Generally, our evenings used to be spent in happy conversation concluding towards midnight with a rather loud racital of verses from Sanskrit poems, chiefly from *Maghadūta* and *Naiṣadha*. This happy life went on for more than seven years that I spent in Benares. There was a rather unpleasant break in our limited circle when one morning in 1890 or 91 we suddenly discovered that Pt. Hari Nath had become a Sanyāsī. His temperament was like that; but somehow or other it was kept in check by the advice of Dr. Thibaut, who was the Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College, and also by the remonstrances of his intimate friends like Govind Dass and Bhagwan Das. I well remember the scene when all three of us went to see him that morning and found him sitting in a garden house called the Guphā Bāg, very close to Durgā Kuṇḍa. After remonstrances and recriminations we came to consider the more practical question of his living. Strictly under the rules of Sanyāsa, he could not draw upon the resources of his family and by his very nature he was too sensitive and high souled to go about begging for food like hundreds of Sanyāsīs at Benares. So it was decided that B. Govind Dasa's house being close by, cooked *Phalāhārī* food, fruits and milk would be sent to him regularly. This arrangement was gladly sanctioned by B. Govid Dasa's father. Since that morning Pt. Hari Nath as such disappeared from the scene and reappeared in the form of the personality since known as 'Swami Manishya Nand Tirtha' and all his learning and aptitude became practically wasted, as he resolutely gave up the work of teaching and studying.

After several years he went to live in the city in Mohalla Tehri Neem, in a house given to him by the Maharaja of Benaras, who also gave an allowance of Rs. 30/- per month to him as long as he lived. When I was preparing for my M. A. examination, which was only a year after he became a Sanyāsī, Govid Dasa prevailed upon him to teach me a part of my M. A. course. He consented to teach me the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, but made certain

very curious conditions, such as, that I should approach him for lessons in the regular orthodox style with Kuśa in hand and so forth. *"Samitpāṇiḥ srotriyaṃ brahmaniṣṭhamupasasāda"*. Being intent upon making him carry on the work of teaching, I gladly accepted all his conditions and he taught me the Upaniṣad for a few months.

When I was still in the B. A. classes I came into contact with a young Pandit, resident of village Masundhi in the district of Arrah, Raghuvira Prasada Mishra by name who came to me as a pupil of Pandit Jayadeva Mishra; he wanted to learn some English. I gave him about half an hour every day. He was a born poet, composing excellent verses in Sanskrit; I also caught his enthusiasm and began to compose Sanskrit verses; a collection of about fifty of them I printed as early as 1890 under the title *"Katipaya-divasodgamaprarohaḥ."* I have cherished many happy recollections of this Pandit, who died in 1937.

This man was a born wit; many of his witticisma come to mind. Towards the end of his life, he told me that in early life he taught me the art of composing Sanskrit verses while I taught him the English primer; but while my verse making prospered, his English had completely disappeared from his mind.

After I had passed the M. A. examination the question arose as to what I should do next. The Maharaja suggested that I might go in for law, and I seriously began to study for the L. L. B. examination; the requisite number of lectures for which I had already attended. Under the somewhat curious arrangement prevalent at even the first grade Government college in those days, the Lecturer in law was B. Bireswar Mittra, who was the leading lawyer in Benares at the time, and the salary stipulated and paid to him consisted in all the fees that were paid by the students attending his class. His lectures were learned and impressive enough, but we derived as much benefit from them as the students of the Law classes of the present day. After two or three days of turning over the pages of some Law books I did not feel drawn towards them and my mind always turned towards the *Pāṭhaśālās* and the three or four world renowned Pandits at Benares. I wrote to my brother who had now joined the Maharaja's service about this and also told him that as I also was bound to live under the Maharaja and he had already a number of Law

Officers; I did not see in what way my legal studies would be helpful to me in life or to the Maharaja. When told of this, the Maharaja laughed and told my brother to write to me that I might read anything I liked and for as many years as I liked, and he would continue to pay my expenses. I now got the opportunity of my life and at once began a strenuous routine of work, reading in the morning from 7 to 9 at the Darbhanga Pathshala in Benares with the great Pt. Mahamahopadhyaya Shivakumar Mishra. Between 9 to 10 I polished up and translated into English what I had read in the morning and then at 10 'clock I went over to Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Jaya Deva Mishra and read with him Vyākara a and Nyāya. One point I may mention here that this gentleman taught me the whole of my M. A. course, devoting the whole afternoon from 2 to 5 to teaching and that without any remuneration of any kind. From there I went over to the revered old Pt. Mahamahopadhyaya Kailash Shiromani Bhattacharya and read with him a philosophical work for one hour, and it was my intention to finish the day with one or two readings with Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Ganga Dhara Shastri, but this item of my programme could not be carried out and I was called back to Darbhanga. 'Pātho Vivāhāvadhiḥ' —regular study ends with one's marriage—is an old saying. It proved true in my case;. This attractive scheme of studies I could not carry on for more than a year.

I should like to say a few words in regard to my marriage and married life. Mithila is a very conservative land. Early marriage has therefore, been carried on there and continues to be so, in spite of the Sharda Act. As already mentioned before, my eldest brother was married while he was only 9 years old. When, therefore, my second brother was fourteen and I was twelve, our parents began to be anxious about our marriage. Luckily, however, my eldest brother's advice prevailed and it was postponed for a while. My prospective father-in-law, Pt. Harsha Natha Jha was in the Maharaja's service during the time that I was at school at Darbhanga. It seems that he had quite early selected me as the most suitable bride-groom for his daughter. When this daughter entered the 8th year of her age, she reached the stage technically called '*Gaurī*' and the giving in marriage of the '*Gaurī*' girl has been declared to be very meritorious for all parties concerned. I had reached the eighteenth year of my age and was in the 4th year class at the Queen's College. The marriage was performed in June, 1889. But this marriage did not interfere with

my studies at the time; it did so only when, after having taken my M. A., I was prosecuting my further Sanskritic studies at Benares in 1893. It was then that I went home and entered the Maharaja's service and since then my wife came to live with me and from that day to the day of her death on Nov. 4, 1932 we were practically never seperated. Ours was a very happy married life. We had ten children, all living till the death of my two daughters in 1937, six years after my wife's death.

Again it was through Govind Dasa that I was brought into direct contact with the Theosophical Society; and it was at Benares that I met Col. Olcott and Mrs. Annie Besant; and as soon as I passed my 18th year I was taken into the Theosophical Society and though after several years I had to sever my official connection with the Society, I remained and still remain a staunch Theosophist, because I am confident that if I have lived the life that I have (and it has not been an ignoble life), it has been due entirely to my contact with Govind Dasa and the Theosophical Society.

Govinda Dasa took a lot of work out of me. Once we spent the summer vacation together at Hardwar, where we spent nearly 20 hours of the day within six inches of the river. It had a wonderful effect upon our health, but unluckily we could not repeat our experience again. It was at Hardwar, on the banks of the river that Govind Dasa dictated to me his work on Hinduism and we jocularly called each other Vyāsa and Gaṇeśa, alluding to the fact that the *Mahābhārata* was dictated by Vyāsa to Gaṇeśa. This book in its final form, I had the sad privilege to see through the press after Govind Dasa's death. The happy influence that he exercised over me and my life was expressed by me when I called him 'the guiding spirit of my life'. It is one of my happiest memories that this mutual regard continued to the end of his life and continues to influence my life even now.

The curse that is said to have been pronounced on Benares by Vyāsa to the effect that "friendship at Benares would not continue for 3 generations", has been belied in our case. I had the good fortune of having won the kindly affection of B. Madho Dasa, Govind Dasa's father and of Govind Dasa, and I continue to be held in affectionate regard by the children and the grand-children of B. Govind Dasa, so that the friendship may be regarded as having continued for 4 generations already, with every hope on both sides that it will continue further.

As regards the rest of my Benares life in general there is nothing much to add, because it all consisted in reading during the day and physical exercises, Tennis and Indian exercises during the evening.

I shall revert now to the details of my college life. When I entered the Queen's College at Benares in 1886 the number of students was very small. In the M. A. class there was one, in the B. A. 4th year there were perhaps four, and in the B. A. 3rd year there were four, one of them being my eldest brother.

In the second year class there were perhaps ten or twelve, and in the first year class which I joined, we were about thirty. The teaching staff was also very small, but it was such that it commanded universal respect, chiefly on account of the Principal Dr. Thibaut, who had come out from Europe with his reputation already established as an Orientalist. The Professor of English was Dr. Venis. As Professor of Mathematics we had B. Umesh Chandra Sanyal; as Professor of Science we had B. Abhaya Charan Sanyal, and as Professor of Sanskrit we had Pt. Vindhya Prasad. On account of the good work of my brother all these teachers were already prepossessed in my favour and I found the atmosphere at once encouraging. During those old days we used to have as a part of our preparation for examination (and it was a very efficient preparation) regular class examinations almost every week and within a couple of months I forged ahead and soon established my position at the top of the class. My companions grudged me this position because I had passed the Entrance examination in the 3rd division and there were several first divisioners in the class. For the annual examination of the first year the Government held a common departmental examination for all the principal colleges in the Province. I was astonished to hear at Darbhanga from my Professor Dr. Venis during the vacation that I had topped the list of all the colleges combined. After this my companions were sporting enough to acknowledge my position and took to me very kindly. This spirit of kindness has continued throughout my life, though I wonder if any one of them is still living. The marks obtained by me at this examination were communicated to me, as to all other candidates. They were, if I remember correctly, 59% in English, which was the highest, 68% in Mathematics, 71% in History, 73% in Sanskrit.

The subjects that we had to read for the F. A. or Intermediate examination were English, in which 8 books were prescribed including Milton, Wordsworth, Cowper, Macaulay and Addison. Second, Sanskrit, in which we had to read 6 Cantos of *Raghuvaṃśa* and a portion of *Daśakumāracarita*. Third, History of Greece and Rome. Fourth, Logic; fifth, Physics; and the sixth, Mathematics including Arithmetic to the highest standard, Algebra to the exponential theorem, Trigonometry, perhaps the whole Mensuration and Conic sections. This list of subjects must appear astounding to the present day undergraduate, who unluckily for himself, had his studies bifurcated at the lower classes at school and he had to choose between Science and Literature at an age when neither he himself nor his teacher or guardian could know which way his interest and capacities lay. This is one of the most serious defects in the present system. In our days we had the advantage of a common course of study up to the Intermediate, consisting of all those subjects which go up to make up the cultural side of man; and it was only when we reached the B. A. stage that we were called up to choose either the Scientific or the Literary course, called at that time the 'B' course and 'A' course respectively. At the end of the 2nd year I appeared at the F. A. or Intermediate examination of the Calcutta University. This was in 1888, and the Allahabad University Act had just been passed but no examination had been held under it. At this examination also I obtained a fairly good position, getting a first class, standing eleventh in the Calcutta University and first among the candidates from the North-west Province and Oudh. This success secured to me the best Government scholarship and also a number of college scholarships of which there used to be several, also a gold medal for obtaining high marks in Sanskrit.

Now arrived another critical point in my life. The Allahabad University had been established and was going to hold its first B. A. examination in 1889, and my turn to appear at that examination would in due course come in 1890. We had, therefore, to decide whether to continue at Benares and appear at the Allahabad University examinations or go over to Patna and take the Calcutta University examinations. The Patna University was not then in existence. Luckily for me, all persons interested in my welfare, the Maharaja of Darbhanga, my parents, my brothers and of course all my Benares friends including Govind Dasa voted with me for Benares.

So at Benares I remained, on the direct road, now, to that path of scholarship for which I was destined.

My eldest brother, Vindhyanatha, also passed in the same year 1888 the B. A. examination of the Calcutta University, from the Benares College; and he also continued at the same college for sometime studying for the M. A. and for Law, but after about 6 months he was called away by the Maharaja and taken into his services, where he spent his whole life. My second brother, Ganaganatha could not appear for the Entrance with me; on account of his bad eyes he was forbidden to read for sometime. He also joined us at Benares, being admitted into the Entrance class of the Queen's collegiate school, from where he passed the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in the first class in 1887. He could not continue his studies further, because he was called away to attend to the business of the family; this was a great pity, because in general intelligence and aptitude of mind he was the cleverest of us all three, and would have made a mark in the world of scholarship if he had been allowed to proceed. Even as it was whatever subject he took up for study he mastered in no time and in due course he had very few equals in Jyotiṣa and Tantra. To the latter he devoted his whole life and the last 6 or 7 years of his life he spent as a recluse at Benares.

For the B. A. examination I took up the 'A' course, offering English, Sanskrit and Philosophy, not only because this was the option that I liked best, indirectly because my brother had offered the same, but also because the college at that time did not provide teaching for any other option. The only other option during those days was a subject that was styled 'History and Political Economy' both together. This reminds me of a most interesting controversy that was publicly held during those days between Mr. Bennett, who was the Chief Secretary to Government, and like most I. C. S. men, conscious of being all-knowing, and Mr. Gough the Principal of the Muir Central College, who was the Registrar and the Chief man in the University. Mr. Bennett wrote a long article in the *Pioneer*, covering several columns in which he criticised the courses of study provided by the newly founded University. His main complaint, as I can recollect now, was that it did not recognise and provide for the subject of Political Economy (this was the name by which the subject was at that time called). To this long letter Mr. Gough provided a short answer in which he said that the subject of Political Economy did not desrve to be treated as a serious subject of study, because it consisted

of nothing more than "the penny newspaper notions of Mr. Mill" and he added that he was not alone in holding that opinion which was held by all right-thinking men including the great writer Froude. This controversy, as I learnt later from the University records, represented only a part of the attempt made by the Government Secretariat to exert its influence actively on University matters. This attempt was frustrated only because the then Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Edge (Chief Justice) sent up a strongly worded minute to Government.

There has been a notion abroad that the Allahabad University has been and continues to be "officialised". The above incident shows the hollowness of this charge against the University. This was in 1887-88, the very year in which the University was founded. Later on a somewhat similar, though comparatively minor, incident occurred which shows how independent the Allahabad University has always been. It was sometime before 1920 that Government of India for the benefit of its Secretariat Staff wished to establish a school teaching up to the Matriculation standard at Simla, and they addressed the Allahabad University asking them to accept the final examination of that school as equivalent to its Matriculation. The University very rightly replied that it could not recognise the examination until it had examined the standard and courses of study provided at the school. The Secretary to Government of India thereupon wrote a rather nasty letter, saying among other things that it was somewhat curious that the University could not recognise an institution which was managed by the Govt. of India from whom the University derived its authority. To this communication the reply that the University sent was that it saw no reason to alter its previous decision and as regards the general question, the University derived its authority not from the Govt. of India or from U. P. Government, but from an Act of the Legistarure. After this no more communications came to the University on the subject.

By this time Dr. Thibaut had been transferred from the Queen's College to the Muir College, and the principalship of the Queen's College was held for a year by Mr. Charles Dodd, who was the Inspector of Schools, till the return of the permanent principal W. H. Wright, who had been the Professor of English at the Muir College. This Mr. Wright was a very kind-hearted old gentleman, but rather funny in his ways. He was a perfect gentleman. He kept on his table in his class room a complete set of the Encyclopaedia

Britannica and also the largest English dictionary available at the time, and he used to dictate to us long notes from these sources, specially when he was teaching us "Paradise Lost". He himself considered these notes very important and I remember when on one occasion I stopped taking down the notes because my pencil was broken he turned to me (we were a class of only 8 or 10) and said "If you don't take down these notes you will never pass in the first division". When I explained to him why I was not taking down the notes he was sorry for what he had said. He was very fond of his students and was ever ready to do all he could to help them in afterlife. When I passed out after taking the B. A. degree, in which I topped the list with Honours in Philosophy, he was very proud of me and used to mention my name after that to every person of note who came to visit the college. He had died before I returned to the U. P. as professor at the Muir College.

Dr. Venis, who had been teaching us English, continued to teach that subject for the B. A. also in addition to the teaching given by the Principal. In addition to this Dr. Venis taught us Philosophy. Of both these subjects I cannot think of a better teacher, though I confess I had no opportunity to read Philosophy under any other teacher. Dr. Venis had very peculiar ways of encouraging his students. He never praised any one of us openly, but in correcting our answer-books which he did very carefully, he would sometimes put down the remarks, "very bad for you". The praise bestowed in this insidious fashion was more effective than any patting on the back would have been. I continued as long as he lived to be regarded by Dr. Venis as one of his most favourite pupils. Though for a little while, when I came to the Muir College and became associated with Dr. Thibaut with whom somehow Dr. Venis was not on the best of terms, he was somewhat suspicious of my loyalty to him, yet my attitude towards him in the University and in various committees soon dispelled this cloud and some of my future advancements I owed directly to him.

For Sanskrit we had the same jovial Pandit, Vindhya Prasad Dube, who taught us in the earlier classes. We were a very happy family, and I recollect many occasions when feeling somewhat lazy we used to request him not to teach us that day but to let us recite *ślokas*. He would say, "*bare sāheb nārāj honge*", but readily agreed to our proposal when we explained to him that the "*bare*

sāheb" would be told that the boys were repeating their old lessons. His agreeing to our proposal was nothing to wonder at, because on several occasions when there were clouds and rain thunder he would himself often close the books and say, "*thahar jāo, abhī thorī malār kī tān le leṅ*". And after this music, he would go on with his experience of the great Indian Mutiny during the thick of which he had to go once from Benares to his home in Cawnpore, of course by road, and as British troops had by that time taken hold of all the important routes, he carried with him a general certificate given to him by Mr. Griffith, the Principal of the Benares College who was a fine Sanskrit scholar and was held in high esteem. Whenever Panditjee was challenged by British pickets on the road this certificate enabled him to go along. He gave us very thrilling accounts of the capture of Cawnpore by a highlander regiment, whom he called "*ghānghare vālon kī paltan*" referring to the kilt worn by the highlanders.

This third year college class was in those days the happiest period in one's life. The awe and shyness inspired in the first year by the first contact with the big institution and learned professors had worn off by the time, and the entire college became one's home.

With all this there was no dread of examination coming at the end of the session. Even annual promotion examination was unknown; the entire class automatically went on to the 4th year. As for the college prizes they went mostly on the decision of the Principal based upon the marks obtained by. students during the class examinations. This system was not difficult to work when the class consisted of 10 or 12 men; nor is there any reason why it should not work even with larger classes and even for the final degree examinations. It would certainly be a fairer test than the present one of deciding the young man's fate by single test consisting of his capacity or otherwise to answer half a dozen questions. This system is not only unfair but also tells very heavily on the health of the boys if not entirely, at least to a very great extent. The results should be determined on the record of class-work during the two sessions. For special prizes the relative merit of the students might be determined by a final examination, much simpler than the present one. This would have an additional advantage of reducing the cost of the examinations.

Anyway I got all the prizes that the college had to give on the Arts side

and we were all promoted to the higher class. It was during this summer vacation that I was married.

The next session was an unfortunate one for our family. In fact it was during this session that I had the bereavement followed by three others. During the month of July I lost my step-mother. She had been a cripple ever since we knew her. She had children, but they had all died and suddenly she developed some trouble which made her a crpple for life. The only possible attitude for her was to sit cross-legged. She could neither stand up nor could she lie down, nor use her hands. She had to be fed by others, who had to do every thing else for her. She was a gentle old lady and never spoke a harsh word to anyone. She was over fifty years of age when she died.

This bereavement was followed two months later by the death of my brother-in-law and my sister was left a widow at the age of 16, but she had a son who continues to be the solace of her life. In the following October I lost my sister-law and my brother Vindhya Nath was disconsolate for long. Towards the enc of the session about a month before the date fixed for our B. A. examination I received a telegram from my brother at Darbhanga saying that he was arriving with father next morning and I should arrange for a suitable house.

I take this opportunity of referring to a prejudice current in our part of the countty which is based upon astrological texts. It consists in the idea that if the first child of a woman is born duting her 16 th year, it is followed by a calamity consisting in the death of either the child or the mother or the father. This I have found to be true in all the cases that have occurred in my family and in several thers. In the case of the two deaths just referred to, the child hnd been born in the 16th year. The same thing happened in the case of the case of the first wife of my second elder brother Gananath in which case both the child and the mother died.

This telegram from my brother rather upset me because it indicated the dangerous illness of my father. Though he had been ailing for sometime we never thought that the end was so near. A few months before this my brother had suggested to fathar that as he was not keeping good health it would be well if he come to Benares for *Kāsī-Vāsa* Father told him that he would

himself tell him when the time arrived. Suddenly one morning my father who was at that time living with the family at Gandhawari called his Brahman servant and told him to make preparations for his last journey to Benares taking with him specially those things that are needed for cremation and which are generally not available in cities. And he asked him to send for my two elder brothers. But before my brothers could arrive he would not brook the delay and proceeded atonce to Darbhanga on his way to Benares. The Maharaja of Darbhanga had a very high regard for my father. He atonce came to see him, bringing the Civil Surgeon along with him.

The Civil Surgeon examined him thoroughly and said that there was no likelihood of his dying for three years yet. The Maharaja thereupon told father that as the Doctor had said this there was no reason why he should hurry on to Benares. Father thereupon said, "the Doctor is a fool. He does not understand anything". The Maharaja laughed at this, agreed to his proceeding to Benares and paid for his expenses. He told my brother that as the case was not absolutely, hopeless, father should be lodged at Benares in a healthy locality. But when the party reached Benares father insisted upon living in the Mahareja's house overlooking the river at what used to be called Munshi ghāt is now known as Darbhanga ghāt. Apparently what led father to insist upon this was the fact that the house stands on the bank of the river. The Maharaja was telegraphed too. He readily gave his consent. So we went into Munshi ghāt. My B. A. examination was to commence at Allahabad 10 days later. When I started for this, father was quite all right and used to sit throughout the day. The only sign of decay was in the eye-sight. And as I had been away from home for nearly 6 months the arrangement proposed was that on return from Allahabad I should g home and come back after a month when my eldest brother would return to duty. With this arrangement and in a thoroughly confident mood of mind I left Benares, but on the last day of my examination, it was Saturday, I got my brother's letter witten a day earlier saying that he was taking father to *Maṇikarṇika ghāt* which evidently meant that he was on the point of death. I took the earliest train back to Benares and was, there, told that with the same suddenness that he had stated from home, father one day told my brother that he should be taken to *Maṇikarṇika* at once. Thereupon he was taken to the *ghat* And as he was not actually dying at the time they lodged him in a small Marhi which still stands between the river and the *Cakra-pusnaraḥī* tank.

It was here that I found father when I returned from Allahabad. He was suffering much pain at the time on account of what I was told was the Asthmatic attack, which, however, apparently was the last difficulty of breath. In the evening he asked if I had returned from Allahabad. I thereupon went up to him. He caught hold of my hand but said nothing. On being asked if he would take anything he kept silent. When he was told that I had brought a couple of ripe mangoes which was something rare in the middle of the month of Chaitra he said he would take them. Thereupon we gave him some mango juice with *dahī*, of which latter, he was exceptionally fond throughout his life. This was the last food that he took on earth.

There was an old Maithil Pandit by name of Manohar Jha, living at Benares who had the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* by heart and used to repeat loudly the verses descriptive of the special scantity of Kashi. When the fit of Asthma was very painful father asked this Pandit if even at the *Maṇikarṇikā* people have to suffer pain in consequence of their past sins. He was told that it had to be because death at *Maṇikarṇikā* meant direct salvation and this was not possible unless and until the man had expiated all his sins by seffering. This seemed to console my father and his breath eased a little.

At the time I arrived at the *ghāt* they were trying to take a photograph of him. Unluckily, however, as at the moment that the exposure was given my father's head swayed a little and the photograph was not successful. We had no other photograph of him, as the older generation till then had a prejudice against the taking of pictures. When the next morning arrived I was told by brother that B. Kali Charan Chatterji, an old gentleman who was one of the principal men at the court of the Maharaja of Benares and who had come to see my father and brother, had told him that that was the day on which death would occur, and some other old Pandits had declared that as father was a deeply religious man and had arrived at *Manikarnikā*, he would die at mid-day, which was the time at which the "*Manikarnikā*" was at its best in producing merit : "*Madnyāhne Maṇikarṇikāsnapanajam puṇyam na vaktum kṣamaḥ*". So we took our breakfast and were watching. Just about mid-day the aforesaid old pandit came with his loud recital of the praises of Kashi. My father was in evident pain, as a consequence of this he appeared to be groaning, but on hearing the recital by the pandit, the groaning ceased.

The pandit went up to him and found him lying on his right side with the right ear naturally underneath. The pandit thereupon turned towards us and said that we were committing a grievious error in keeping the right ear down. He said "you foolish people with your physical eyes don't see things but with my spiritual eyes I see *Viśvan tha* is sitting at the head of your father waiting to impart to him the sacred mantra which brings eternal salvation and this mantra has got to be imparted through the right ear. Please, therefore, have the right ear turned upwards". We had full faith in the pandit's words and had therefore, the sides changed. After this within five minutes the last signs became visible and according to Maithila practice we took him into the river with the lower part of the body immersed in water. He was dressed up in silken clothes and *gopī candana* rubbed all over his body, and *rudrākṣa-mālā* on his neck. At that time the body appeared to be so effulgent that many of our pandit-friends who had collected by that time began to doubt if death was actually approaching. But the end had come, and while we were watching we discovered a curious thing ; within a few inches of his head just outside one of the crevices of the *ghāt* there stood a serpent with its hood up which we did not disturb and which moved off only after we had taken away the body. This was precisely at mid-day. At the burning *ghāt* also we noticed another curious phenomenon. When we were putting the body on the pile of woods, a *fakīr* almost naked with ashes rubbed over his body was seated on a slab of stone entirely exposed to the mid-day sun within three or four feet of the pile. He begged us to let him have the *Rudrā ka mā ā* that father was wearing. Naturally we refused, but the man continued to sit there till evening when the body had become entirely burnt and the ashes had been washed into the river. After that we did not know what became of the man.

We returned to our lodging at Darbhanga *ghāt* in the evening when Govind Dasa came to see us. The news of father's death was communicated to the Maharaja during the day and he was asked whether the *Śrāddha* should be performed at Benares or at home in Pahitol in Darbhanga district. The Maharaja sent by wire a somewhat dubious reply "on religious grounds alone Benares best place." The reason for this reply was obvious. Of course everyone knew that on religious grounds Benares was the best place, but there

were certain social grounds, on which it was felt to be desireble that the ceremony should be performed at our village home. There were special reasons for this. A near relation of ours and of the Maharaja was under social boycott and his case had to be decided by the Maharaja under the regulations of our society. The Maharaja was favourably inclined towards the man and he wanted that the matter should be settled soon. This could be done only by disposing of his case and then lifting of the boycott by having him invited at an important social function and the Śrāddha of my father was such a function which it was considered desirable to utilise in this connection. We left Benares next day by the evening train and halting at Semaria ghāt for the second day's rites, reached Pahitol the next morning. On the same day the Maharaja's telegraphic orders were received by all important members of our community to the effect that the accused man should give an undertaking in writing that he would not repeat his offence whereupon the boycott against him might be lifted. This process was duly gone through. The Śrāddha was duly performed in a manner satisfactory to all the parties concerned and in full consonance with the position of my father in society.

Within a few days of this I got information that I had stood first at the B. A. examination. I was engrossed in house-hold affairs and too busy, therefore to give much attention to matters relating to future studies ; and for a while it was even doubtful whether I would proceed for further studies at all.

It was only in October that I was able to proceed to Benares again. At the Queen's college, however, there were no arrangements for teaching for the M. A. I enquired at the University office, which at the time was practically the same as the Muir college office, because the post of Registrar was held by Mr. Gough, the Principal of the College, if they provided any scholarship for M. A. studies. They wrote back to say that they would give me a scholarship if I joined the Muir college. I knew, however, that the Muir college with all its reputation in other branches of study was not sufficiently equipped for higher teaching in Sanskrit at that time. I therefore stuck to Benares, having obtained the assurance from the Principal of the Queen's college that though he could not arrange for any lectures, he would send up my name as a college candidate, which was permissible during those spacious days. This been arranged, I began serious work for I had already lost about 6 months of the session.

Under the rules prevalent at the time candidates at the B. A. were awarded honours in a subject in which they secured more than 75 percent of the marks alloted to that subject. I succeeded in getting this in Philosophy. My friend the late Satish Chandra Banerjee had secured honours in English. Under the rules I could have gone for my M. A. examination only one year after my B. A. if I took up philosophy but my mind was bent upon Sanskrit, so I did not take advantage of that rule and proceeded at once with Sanskrit. I was fortunate in securing the ungrudging help without any remuneration from the Late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Jayadev Mishra who had studied the Śāstras through the patronage of my grand-mother at Gandhwari and through that relationship regarded himself as member of our family. This relationship he maintained throughout his life.

The extent of the help that I got from him will be clear from the fact that he came to me at I O'clock in the afternoon and continued to teach me till 6 O'clock. As the examinations were held almost entirely through the medium of the English language the plan I adopted was to translate into English every morning whatever I had learnt of the original texts on the previous day ; of course this was only in regard to those texts that had not already been translated. And in order not to lag behind I made up my mind not to take my breakfast until I had done this. In this way while reading the texts I got ready English translation of two such important philosophical texts viz. the *Sāṁkhya-Tatvakaumudī* and *Nyāya-Muktāvali. The third bhilosophical* text that I had to read was *Śāṁkarabhāṣya* which had just been translated by Dr. Thibaut. Every evening after finishing my work I used to go to *Durgā-Kuṇḍa* where, in the company of Govind Dasa and Bhagvan Dasa and also other friends that came up, we performed regular Indian exercises for about two hours, sometimes more. And then we took our meals and carried on those pleasant talks mostly on literary and Philosophical topics in which, as already pointed out before, we were joined also by Pandit Hari Nath, who subsequently became a *sanyāsī* so that during the night there was no serious intellectual work at all, which began only at 6 in the morning and continued till 6 in evening with a short break for breakfast.

We lived during these days in a small garden house situated on the corner of two roads one coming from the Durgākuṇḍa side and going to

Bhelupurā and Rāmāpurā and the other coming from Assī side and going westward towards the present water works. The house exists still. It is just opposite to the Bhelupurā police-station. We had two excellent and very useful neighbours who had their houses along side the police station. One was Dr. Girish Chandra Chatterji and his son Debendra Nath Chatterji who had just entered the Bar, and the other Dr. Purna Chandra Banerji who was incharge of the Bhelupurā Hospital and three of whose sons Amulya, Prafullo and Anil were reading with us at college.

This reminds me of a serious operation that I had to undergo while I was in the 4th year class in December, before the March during which I appeared at the B. A. examination. It was for access performed by the said Dr. Purna Chandra Banerji. It took three weeks to heel.

The aforesaid regular routine of my work had to be cut short because I had to go home towards the end of March for performing the first annual *Śrāddha* of my father.

It was sometime in course of this year that another crisis in my life presented itself. The Maharaja had been ailing from some chronic disease called during those days 'Bright's disease'. I do not know what it is called now. He had benefitted to a certain extent under the treatment of Dr. J. M. Coates who was at that time Principal of the Calcutta Medical College. On his retirement the Maharaja engaged him as his personal physician. This Dr. Coates, apart from being an excellent doctor, was one of the best men I have ever met. He was a most devoted Christian and yet he was tolerant to the greatest extent. We used to argue about the comparative merits of various religions and he was very appreciative of all reasonable arguments that were urged. I remember that he was specially struck by the rather jocular remark that "Christianity was a very convenient religion as there was room in it for your committing all the sins that you like and all of it was atoned for by your belief in Christ". He was so struck by this attack upon what has been called 'Vicarious atonement' that he referred to this very frequently afterwards. Though a high placed official in those days, he was not quite in the good books of civilians. In fact, he was too honest for them. Being an Irish man he was very pro-Indian and I remember one incident which struck me very much.

We had all assembled at the great Sonepur fair which at that time was regarded as one of the most important fairs in the country. It was attended by all the officials who could manage to come. Even the viceroy came sometimes. The Lt. Governor at that time of Bengal which then included Bihar also was Sir Charles Elliot. He had fallen foul of the Zamindars led by the Maharaja of Darbhanga because of their agitation against some of his proposals. He made this a personal matter between himself and the Maharaja of Darbhanga, to this extent that when he was going on tour about that time he refused to stay at Darbhanga as the Maharaja's guest as usual. The Maharaja of course did not mind it, but curiously enough the local officials at Muzaffarpur could not find any house suitable for the Lt. Governor during his tour and they had to appeal to the Maharaja who owned at that time all the suitable houses in the city. The Maharaja naturally declined ; saying that when the Lt. Governor had refused his hospitality in his own town of Darbhanga he saw no reason why he should receive him as his guest at Muzaffarpur. When negotiations were going on on this point, one morning at the race-course, Dr. Coates was loitering about accompanied by my brother, myself and B. Janeshwar Singh, better known as Sri Nandanji. This loitering about was due to the fact that Dr. Coates was not much interested in racing. He remarked to us that he did not see any fun in a number of horses running after one another with thousands of fools looking on. He was suddenly accosted by Mr. Dalton who was a senior civilian, the Collector of Darbhanga at the time, who asked him—"Why is the Maharaja behaving in this unreasonable manner ?" The doctor replied—"I see nothing unreasonable in his behaviour ; it is perfectly right and proper". The collector flared up at this and said—"the Maharaja has always been dis-loyal to Government. He has become more dis-loyal since you joined his service." I perfectively remember the scene ; the Doctor pulled up his sleeves and said—"You sneaky civilian, what you say is a lie. The Maharaja has never been dis-loyal to Government. He has been only honestly expressing his opinions for the good of his country and if any one is disloyal to government it is you civilians who will ultimately ruin the British Government in India." At this childing Dalton Quietly slunk away. But the matter was not left there. My brother crossed over to Patna where the Maharaja was staying and told him all that had happened. The Maharaja wrote a long letter to Mr. Henry who was Inspector-General of Police at the time and was an old friend of the Maharaja on account of his having been Private Secretary to a former Lt.

Governor, Sir Ashley Eden who had much helped the Maharaja and his whole family in his domestic affairs. This Mr. Henry explained the situation to the Lt. Governor Sir Charles Elliot and poor Dalton was severly reprimanded of course unofficially and as an outcome of all this the Lt. Governor stayed both at Darbhanga and at Muzaffarpur as the Maharaja's guest.

This old doctor had a great influence upon us. In fact we three boys, my brother, myself and Sri Nandanji used to be constantly with him. The old man never wasted a single minute of his life. He was always reading and copying out the more important passages in the book he read, he wrote notes in books of which he had filled up several volumes. This practice appealed to all of us three and we have been doing the same, to a very large extent.

Another fad of this old Doctor's was that, though he went out for a long morning walk, on which we accompanied him, he used to say that you should never go out simply for the sake of walking, you should always go out with some purpose in view.

In accordance with this fad he always posted his own letters during his morning walks and also received his *dak* at the Post Office. We also went almost every day to see the animals, lions and tigers and other animals which the Maharaja had brought together along with very beautiful birds, which collection, however, was dispersed by his successor.

Having treated the Maharaja for some months, the Doctor told him that the best course for him would be to take a course of treatment at Carls-bad where the course consisted of some "baths" in hot springs. He told the Maharaja, however, knowing and sympathising with his orthodox views that there were hot springs in India also, which might be equally beneficial. Thereupon he got for the Maharaja all the books that were available dealing with these Indian hot-springs. The most suitable amongst these happened to be one situated in the Kangra valley known as Manikarna ; but there were no suitable houses available at the place. So ultimately the Maharaja had to decide to go to Carls-bad.

There was, however, a great difficulty in the way. The Maharaja had great regard for his uncle B. Guneshwar Singh who was the pillar of orthodoxy

in Mithila and orthodox people were against sea-voyage. The whole scheme, therefore, was to be kept secret. The only persons to be taken into the secret were the Maharaja's young cousin Sri Nandanji (Babu Janeshwar Singh), B. Keshi Mishra and himself, besides of course the Maharaja's own entourage which was to consist of Dr. Coates, my brother Vindhya Nath, Bhola Babu, the elder brother of Keshi Babu and a cook in the person of high-class member of our community, named Manabharana Jha of the village Mahrail and about half a dozen personal servants of the Maharaja. Berths were engaged in the Italian Steamer, *Rubattino* under the name of *'Raghubansiji' and party* (Raghubanshiji being one of the Maharaja's own earliest pet names). The Maharaja himself was very orthodox in his ways ; therefore, arrangements had to be made for a regular Indian kitchen on the steamer and for this purpose two or perhaps three of the cabins had to be turned into one, filled with earth and so forth : for all of which a sum of Rs. 10,000/- was paid. The party was to sail sometime in may or June and the arrangement was that a people in Darbhanga were not meant to know where the Maharaja had gone, Srinandanji with Keshi Babu and myself were to form the communicating link, having our establishment in Pancagani near Mahabaleshwar in the Bombay Presidency, where a house was taken on a monthly rent of Rs. 500/-. All communications meant for the Maharaja and his party were to be forward to us and we were to forward them to the Maharaja at Carls-bad. Similarly communications from the Maharaja and his party were to be sent to us and forwarded by us to Darbhanga.

All arrangements were complete and two days before the Maharaja was to leave, my brother was sent ahead to Bombay to make the final arrangements for the voyage. I saw my brother off at the Darbhanga station and informed the Maharaja that he had left. Next morning, however, at the crucial moment the Maharaja's courage gave way. He called for me and told me that though he had made all arrangements he felt that he could not do an act which would seriously outrage the feelings of his uncle, as sooner or later it was sure to be known that he had gone to Europe. He told me, therefore, to inform Dr. Coates and ask him if he liked to proceed to Europe with his family utilising the shipping accomodation that had been arranged for the Maharaja's party. I went over to Dr. Coates and told him everything. He was taken a back, but with characteristic tolerance said—"I respect the Maharaja's regard for his aged uncle and accept his decision ; I have, however, to go to Europe ; so go I must. I shall be glad to take advantage of the Maharaja's offer."

When all this arrangement of my remaining with Srinandanji at Panchgani was in contemplation, I had stipulated that on the Maharaja's return from Europe I should be permitted to return to my studies at Benares. To this the Maharaja had readily agreed. So, now that the whole thing had fallen through I obtained the Maharaja's permission and wired to my brother at Bombay informing him of the situation and requesting him to come back. As soon as he returned I left for Benares.

It was sometime during this year that another incident occured which throws light on the amount of confidence that the Maharaja had in me at this early age. The Maharaja wanted that a large number of Indians should join the I. C. S. At that time there were no examinations held in India and the few Indians like Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Surendranath Benerjee and others had to go to England for the purpose. The Maharaja's plan was to send a few young boys to England to study and then to compete at the examination. The age-limit at that time was such that I had gone beyond it. But in order to see that I should be sent there to supervise their work and life the Maharaja was to bear all the expenses. Somehow or other this plan also did not materialise ; the Chief reason was that a sufficient number of boys were not forthcoming.

I came up to Benares to continue my work for the M. A. and with the ungrudging help of Pt. Jaya Deva Mishra succeeded in passing the examination in the 2nd class. The main reason of my not getting a higher class was probably that I had no one to coach me in regard to the European methods of study and all my examiners were European scholars, Dr. Venis among them. The curious scholarship of one of them, whose name I forget who had set the paper on Rhetoric and Poetics, found nothing more important to ask than the *Kārikā* in *Kāvyaprakāśa* where the ten thousand and odd kinds of poetry are enumerated. Luckily for me, however, the European examiner who had been appointed for the Viva-voce Examination could not turn up in time and so after waiting for two days this examination was conducted by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya whose special subject was Rhetoric and Poetry. The time allotted for the Viva-voce examination at that time was half an hour for each candidate. Panditjee continued to ask me questions for more than an

hour on *Kāvyaprakāśa* alone, and then pulled himself up and put questions on the other books. He was so entirely satisfied with me that strict as he ever was in these matters he could not resist the temptation of telling me that he was fully satisfied and all that he could tell me was that he had given me very high marks. Many years later I found out that he had given me 70%. There were only two other candidates, both from Nagpur. One of these failed. I donot remember his name. But the other one passed in the third class. He was the late Mahamahopadhyaya Keshava Gopal Tamhan, Professor in the Nagpur Morris college.

I went to Benares after the examination and began my work on purely Sanskrit studies of the old type as already described above. The Maharaja permitted me to continue this work for as long as I like and sanctioned the continution of the stipend. Unfortunately my studies at Benares had to be cut short in the month of March. The reasons for this were two-fold. The first and most immediate reason was the death of my grandmother and the consequent stopping of the supply of help from her. And the second was my desire now to live with my wife at home. For the old adage *Pāthovivāhāvadhiḥ* justified I returned to Darbhanga and attended my grand mother's *śrāddha* ceremony which was performed by the Maharaja. In this connection a bit of family-history will not be out of place.

As already stated before, my maternal grandfather was the half-brother of Maharaja Rudra Singh of Darbhanga, who was the paternal grandfather of Maharaja Lakmishwar Singh of Darbhanga. My grandfather had no sons. He left only three daughters. At the time of his death he was asked if he would nominate any one as his *Karta-putra*. His voice had ceased though he retained his consciousness and in answer to the query, he wrote down the well-known text *"Putrābhāve tu Patnī syāt"*, meaning in the absence of a son the wife. "Accordingly my grandmother performed his *śrāddha*. But his property reverted to the Raj, and it was also arranged that the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Maheshwar Singh, son of Rudra Singh, was to be the *Karta-putra* of my grandmother and in case he pre-deceased her, his son would take his place. In accordance with this understanding, when my grandmother died, the liability to perform her *śrāddha* fell upon Maharaja Lakmishwar Singh.

He had, however, just recovered from an attack of fever and was therefore, not quite fit to go through the ceremonies. Consequently when grandmother was at the point of death, he wrote a slip to my brother to the effect that as he was not quite fit to perform the *Śrāddha* he would like her to. nominate someone else as her *Kartaputra* and he added that as all through her life she had looked upon my brother as her son my brother should be so appointed *Karta* ; he concluded by saying that he (the Maharaja) would be glad to give to the 'son' so appointed the property left by grandmother, or some such thing. Unluckily, however, grandmother expired before the arrival of this slip and though there were advisers who advised my brother 'to take advantage of the Maharaja's offer and become the *Kartaputra* and perform the *Śrāddha*, yet the scrupulous, and according to many people the quixotic honesty of brother prevailed, and he wrote back to the Maharaja saying that the letter had come too late. So the Maharaja had to perform the *Śrāddha*. The Maharaja was struck by my brother's honesty and appreciated it. But there the appreciation ended.

When, therefore, I returned to Darbhanga we decided that I was to remain at home and as the Maharaja had long desired to establish a library at Darbhanga the nucleus of which already existed in the palace and as he, knew that my inclination was towards scholarly and not administrative work, he appointed me as his librarian on Rs. 100/- a month. Needless to say, I found the work extremely congenial and the following 5 years of my life at Darbhanga were perhaps the happiest. The routine of my work was to go to the Library at 7 in the morning, stay there till about 12 cataloguing the books and reading a lot of them, come home and rest till 4, spend the afternoon in playing foot-ball and the evening in attendance at the palace. After a few months of this life there was a variation in this routine. My ambition for higher Sanskrit studies still continued and fortunately about this time Dr. Venis wrote to me to ask if I felt equal to taking up the English translation of the work of *Kumārila*. I jumped at the suggestion and atonce began to read these works seriously, Like a regular *Vidyārthī* with the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Chitra Dhara Mishra, who was the chief pandit at the Maharaja's *darbār*. The pandit was over 60 years of age at this time, but so enthusiastic was he over my proposal that for several months he used to come to my place and teach me the *Ślokavārtika* for more than 3 hours every day. The reason for his enthusiasm lay in

the fact that *Pūrvamīmāṁsā*, which at one time used to be professed by over 900 experts in Mithila, had, at the time that I came, only three experts and the study of the subject was nearing extinction. This also was one of the reasons why Dr. Venis had suggested the work to me.

After I had finished the *Ślokavārtika* I told my revered teacher that could no longer agree to his coming over to my place. So when I next began to read the *Tantravārtika* I used to go to him in the morning and from there to the Library. This arrangement continued as long as I stayed at Darbhanga till 1902.

My plan of study was to read with my teacher in the morning, and during the day, and also sometimes till late at night, do the translation of all that I had read in the morning. In this way before I left Darbhanga in 1902 I had finished the translation of both—*Ślokavārtika and Tantravārtika.*

At about this time through my sheer good luck the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Har Prasad Shastri, who was as the head of Sanskrit studies in the Calcutta Sanskrit college sent over to me an assistant of his who had been deputed to the work of searching for Sanskrit manuscripts. I rendered this gentleman such help as I could and thus earned the favourable notice of the said revered Shastriji. When, therefore, I had completed my translation of the above two works which had been regarded as among the most difficult ones in Sanskrit Philosophical literature I wrote to the Shastriji if there were any chance of their being published. He wrote back immediately to say that the works were of such great importance that they would be readily taken up for publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which at that time he was the honorary Philological Secretary. He asked me to send the whole manuscript to him which I readily did. He placed the matter before the Society and the printing of the work commended forthwith. This also constituted my first earning in the literary field, as the honorarium that received altogether from the Society was nearly Rs. 10,000/-.

It was during this period at Darbhanga that I had translated *Yogasārasaṁgraha* and *Yogabhāṣya* and wrote the *Bhaktikallolinī*, the Sanskrit commentry on the drama *Prasannarāghava*.

At Darbhanga Raj

My contact with Babu Janesnwar Singh alias Shrinandan Jee led to a serious turn in my life. He was the younger son of B. Netreshwar Singh (popularly known as Vanmali Babu) the third son of Maharaja Rudra Singh. Shrinandanji was thus the first cousin of Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh. Their mothers also were sisters, so he was the most nearly related cousin to the Maharaja. He had lost his father while he was still very young. He was brought over to Darbhanga, by Rudra-priya, who was his father's step-mother. So practically from his birth he lived at Darbhanga and the Maharaja became attached to him. He had an elder brother by name Babu Ekaradeshwar Singh (Raghunandanji), who was two years senior to me in age, while Shrinandanji was about 5 years my junior. When B. Netreshwar Singh was dying he appointed the Maharaja the guardian of his two minor boys. So from about 1881 or 82 both these brothers lived at Darbhanga and the Maharaja appointed private tutors for them. I and my next elder brother Gana Nath became specially attached to these two brothers; on both of us this friendship had great effect. The younger brother Srinandanji become the Maharaja's favourite and for a very long time the idea was prevalent that he would appoint him as his successor to the Raj. We heard it as a rumour that he did not actrelly do it only because eminent lawyers advised him that under the law and his familycustom he could not do it. Anyway the boy remained with the Maharaja at Darbhanga till the death of the latter in 1898, and as soon as he grew up and had read sufficiently he became and remained the most trusted private secretary to the Maharaja. It has already been described above how during the Maharaja's projected tour to Europe he was to serve as the link between the Maharaja and Darbhanga and by that time I had also come to be regarded with confidence and favour and was selected as a companion to Srinandanji. Even before this whenever on my return from Benaress I halted at Darbhanga this boy took to me very kindly and affectiontely. How anxiously the Maharaja wished to educate this boy properly is indicated by the fact that he was for a

long time kept at Calcutta and the Maharaja engaged as his private tutor the great Scientist at the St. Xavier's College, Father Lafont and for teaching him Sanskrit he kept with him his best Pandit Mahamahopadhyaya Chitradhar Mishra. My friendship with the boy naturally ripened with time and when I was taken into the Maharaja service we were constant companions, in study, in games, in exercises and also all sorts of boyish triks and mischiefs. The frienpship was further cemented when Dr. Coates came to Darbhanga as the Maharaja's medical adviser and took up Voluntarily the work of teaching Srinandaji English and English literature in general. It raises a smile when I recall the hours that he and I, with boyish enthusiasm, devoted to the study astronomy with the only implement in the shape of maginifying for Botany and a very small telescope which could be carried about in one hand for Astronomy. We did not make much advance in Botany, but in Astronomy we used the telescope on the roof of the Maharaja's palace Anandabag to such good effect that we spotted all the more important planets and stars including, of course, the satellites of Jupiter which along with the ring of Saturn form the most interesting sights for a novice in Astronomy.

This happy life of ours went on for 5 years when suddanly the Maharaja died on Dec. 17, 1898, though not quite unexpectedly; as 3 or 4 years before, when the Malıraja had a serious Cardial attack the Doctors from Calcutta, O' Connell and Russell, had said that the Maharaja could not live longer than 3 years. However, in our youthful optimism we never heeded this medical opinion and the end came upon us rather suddenly. While it had its effect upon the whole Raj and specially upon the Maharaja's immediate relations, it completely unnerved Srinandanji and I am afraid his mind become a bit unhinged, though luckily the way that it turned was only extreme loyalty to the dead Maharaja and his two Maharanees and also the Goddess whom he worshipped.

The Maharaja was succeeded by his brother, Maharaja Rameshwar Singh. It was no secret to anyone that there was not much love lost between the new Maharaja and those most near and dear to his brother and the two Maharanees along with Srinandanji who soon become objects of distrust. It

has to be said to the credit of the new Maharaja, however, that he never showed any sign of this distrust on his part and did everything in his power to gain the confidence and also the affection of the Maharanees and of Srinandanji. For two or three years, things went on quite smoothly and happily for all parties concerned, but as often happens in most estates, through the stupidity of little-minded officers, misunderstandings cropped up. The two Maharanees of the late Maharaja were being treated, and rightly so, by the new Maharaja as honoured members of his own household. There was no restriction placed upon their expenses and they were never allowed to feel that they were not welcome in the household. Some people taking advantage of this, complained to the Maharaja that the two Maharanees were spending money recklessly and he was advised that it would be better for the Raj and also for the Maharanees if he gave them fixed allowances. While all this back-biting was going on these officious underlings began inflicting certain pinpricks on the Maharanees in small matters, and misunderstandings began. Naturally the Maharanees turned to Srinandanji for advice and guidance, because like the late Maharaja these ladies also looked upon him as their son. In fact within a few days of the death of the late Maharaja, when the new Maharaja wrote a very kind letter to Srinandanji making a very graceful offer of a Lac of rupees or Rs. 50,000/- (I foreget the exact figure though I saw the letter at the time) as a sort of solace for the death of the late Maharaja, Srinandanji in very courteous language declined the kind offer and ended with assuring the Maharaja of his complete loyalty; but the honest young man that he was, could not but add the proviso (I forget the exact term) 'except when difficulties arise between the Maharanees and yourself'. This proviso was of course unwise, specially because, till that time the Maharaja had given no cause for any distrust of this kind. The seeds of mischief, however, had been sown; so that when the proposal for a fixed allowance came up from that point onwards, there was armed neutrality on both sides: but outwardly there were no signs of disagreement and Srinandanji as before continued to spend the greater part of his time at Darbhanga as a member of the Maharaja's household.

The bickerings and misunderstandings led to the inevitable results and the Maharanees did after all ask for fixed allowances on the analogy of the other dowager Maharanees. This led the Maharaja to propose an annual allowance

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of Rs. 20,000/- for each of the two Maharanees; he forgot however, that the purchasing value of a rupee had gone down considerably since the allowances for the other Maharanees had been fixed. This led on to a sharp cleavage of opinion and protracted negotiations had to be carried on between the Maharaja and Srinandanji. The latter naturally took me into his confidence and asked my advice very frequently. But he continued to live with the Maharaja and the negotiations were being carried on in the most cordial fashion for the enhancement of the allowance. To anticipate events, with a view to completing the story of this family-squabble, the matter had ultimately to go to the Civil courts, when alone did the Maharaja take up the matter seriously and called in the help of outsiders, like the Nawab of Dacca and the Maharaja of Benares, both of them being friends of the family. The suit had been filed and the processes begun, when at least good counsels prevailed on both sides and the matter was amicably settled. The Maharaja agreed to give for her life-time to each of the two Maharanees landed property yielding an annual income of Rs. 77,000/- and also a lac of rupees each perhaps for housebuilding and other incidental expenses.

Reverting to myself, during the days that the quarrel was in its earliest stages and relations between the parties were apparently cordial, events happened which made me the first victim of the dispute.

Srinandanji had begun to perform the annual *pūjā* of Ganesh in the month of *Bhādra*. It was done on a grand scale and festivities continued for a whole week. I naturally took a prominent part in this. It reminded me also of an earlier idea in my mind that I also would perform this annual *pūjā* and Srinandanji suggested that nothing could be better than my doing it along with himself at his own place, having two images instead of one, I readily assented. Ever since the said rumblings in their relationship started, the Maharaja had disliked my rather close friendship with Srinandanji, but he never gave any sign of the displeasure. He began however, to throw obstacles in our way and the first act in the drama was his starting that same *pūjā* himself at Darbhanga. When the next *pūjā* came he gave out to people that the *pūjā* was going to be performed and that I was going to be put incharge of it. On this, I wrote to him a letter telling him that in a fit of devotional ecstasy I had taken a vow that I

would myself perform this annual *pūjā* and that along with Srinandanji at his place at Shankarpur. When the Maharaja got this letter I was told that he was furious. But when I enquired of B. Priya Nath Banerji who was the head clerk at the Raj head-office, he wrote to say that the order passed on my letter was simply "put up on Feb I," and this was sometime in September. I naturally thought the Maharaja had only filed my letter and as my letter was simply meant to convey to him the idea that I would not be available at Darbhanga to supervise the *Pūjā*, I thought no more of it. Immediately after this the Maharaja went away from Darbhanga to Rajnagar. When the time of the *pūjā* arrived I wrote to my superior officer, the general manager of the Raj, Mr. R. S. King making an application for leave and asking for pemission to go to Shankarpur. He sent to me the reply that he saw no objection to my going. I thereupon left for Shankarpur and began the *pūjā*. Srinandanji had requested the Maharaja to lend to him for the *pūjā* week the services of his chief pandit and this request the Maharaja had granted with his usual grace. In the thick of the *pūjā*-festivities this Pandit arrived at Shankarpur and brought the news that the Maharaja had dismissed me from his service and the next day's dak brought the formal order covering a full sheet of foolscap. It was somewhat to the following effect; "During my brother's life time some people tried the experiment of serving both of us and the experiment failed in every case to give satisfaction to any of the parties concerned. I am, therefore, very sorry to have to dismiss from my service Ganga Nath Babu. I shall have no objection to his taking service with Srinandanji. If Srinandanji had only asked me to lend his services to him I would have gladly done so, but this was not done and I should not like to encourage my people leaving head-quarters at a time when their services would be required there. Under the circumstances I am compelled to dispense with Ganga Nath Babu's services and he should make over charge of the English Library to B. Keshi Mishra and of the Sanskrit library to Pt. Parmeshwar Jha". Then and there during the *pūjā* itself I drafted my reply which was somewhat to the following effect; "This will perhaps be the last letter that I shall write to your Highness. I should, therefore, like to remove certain misconceptions that happen to be there in your Highness' mind. The first is that I came to Shankarpur at the invitation of Srinandanji. Nothing could be farther from the truth. I had no invitation from him. I came simply for the fulfilling of the

vow of which I had already written to your Highness. The second idea in your Highness' mind appears to be that I am going to seek service under Srinandanji. There has been no such idea in my mind. My friendship with Srinandanji is of too high a character to admit of any monetary considerations entering into it. As regards myself all that I have to say is that ever since I heard of your Highness' opinion publicly expressed, to the effect that I was doing no work in the Raj and the work that I was doing at the Library could be done by a clerk on mothly salary of Rs. 20/-, my position has been hanging heavily upon my conscience but I have not been saintly enough to throw up a comfortable job for a matter of conscience and as your highness' order helps to relieve me of that burden I receive your Highness' order with the greatest gratitude. Now that the extreme penalty has been meted out to me, there are two requests that I have to make to your Highness. Firstly the Raj Library consisted of 12 almiras when I joined about 9 years ago and now it contains more than 100 almiras. I have, therefore, come to look upon it as a child and I hope your Highness will have due care taken of it. Second, under the orders of your Highness' late brother the Raj Press began to bring out a series of old Sanskrit texts. No one was officialy put incharge if it but I did the whole work purely as a labour of love. I hope some competent person will be definitely put incharge of the work, if it is considered desireable to continue it. In case, however, it is not considered so there is one work in course of publication by my father-in-law pt. Harsha Nath Jha which should be completed. If the Raj is not willing to do it, the work may be given to me and I shall have it done at my own cost." There are one or two matters in this correspondence which need elucidation. Soon after the Maharaja succeeded his brother he began to feel that my services were not sufficiently utilised by the Raj. He had a very good opinion of my aptitude for work and also for my scholarship and scholarly habits but instead of seeking to expand my duties on these lines he ordered me to proceed to investigate the *Bedakhli* of certain lands in a remote village. Even before succeeding to the Raj he had utilized my services as a scholar on one occasion when he was highly pleased. In order to nip the trouble in the bud I wrote an humble appeal telling him that I had no aptitude for that sort of zamindari work (a fact which was well known to B. Chandrashekhar Bose who was acting as the Chief Manager at the time) and that if I

were deputed to this sort of work, the interest of the Raj would suffer and I would make a fool of myself. The Maharaja was displeased at this but kept quiet except giving expression to the opinion referred to in my last letter to him. He then began to utilize my services in other ways, most of which were congenial to me, for instance, hunting information on matters relating to Dharma-Ṣāstra, Tantra and European philosophy in general and Theosophy in particular. I was asked to help in the performance of all special rites and ceremonies—all these of course unofficially.

The reason why I sent such a reply to the order of dismissal lay partly in the indignation aroused in my mind by the fact that he had taken this extreme step without having given me a single warning to the effect that he was not pleased with my friendship with Srinandanji, but actually there was the fact that I was on a fair way to being taken into Government service at Allahabad.

When I returned to Darbhanga I showed the draft of my letter to Maharaja to my brother. He approved of it and the letter was immediately sent. On receipt of this letter of mine the Maharaja perhaps came to realise his mistake and began the reviewing of my letter to him line by line and commenting upon it before his *Durbaris*. One of these comments was, "It is foolish of him to think that he is not fit for any important work in the Raj, who else except his own elder brother is so competent in every way? Even now if he mends his ways I am prepared to cancel my orders." He repeated the same remarks to my brother, who however, recognising the fact that my appointment at Allahabad being certain, my continuance in Raj service might hamper it, threw cold water on the Maharaja's proposal and said that I had gone too far in my friendship with Srinandanji, the misunderstandings with whom were fast coming to a head. Thereafter indirect attempts began to be made to persuade me to stay, for instance, the two gentlemen to whom I had been ordered to make over charge kept on shilly-shallying and would not relieve me. After two or three days though Keshi Babu very reluctantly relieved me, pt. Parmeshwar Jha still persisted in his refusal and as an old friend, continued to advise me to wait and see how things would shape themselves.

All these dear friends of mine of Darbhanga were hoping that the Maharaja already relenting in my favour, would very soon take me back into his

service. Little, however, did these good friends realise that though the Maharaja might be relenting, I was not relenting in my determination to accept the post at Allahabad which from my boyish days remained the lodestar of my ambition. Ultimately I had to write to the Chief Manager to complain that I was not being relieved; whereupon Parmeshwar Jha got urgent orders; but even so he kept on finding some pretext or the other, till at last I threw over to him the keys of the Sanskrit Library telling him to do what he liked with them as I was leaving for home the same day. Poor man, he had to give way and sent me the charge-sheet duly signed; whereupon I left for my home at Pahitol for the Durgā *Pūjā* celebrations which had approached by the time.

After this the Maharaja apparently forgot the unhappy episode and treated me with kindness and even affection as long as he lived. Before taking leave of my life at Darbhanga, I should like to put down something about certain episodes of that life. Mithila like Bengal, had since ancient times, ever since Tantric modes of worshipping entered Buddhism, came under the influence of these modes. But the discipline prescribed in connection with that form of worship is so strict that it is practically impossible for an ordinary man to remain firm, hence in the past there were very rare cases of poeple who took to that mode of worship and therefore, retired from the ordinary family life, or if they remained in the common household they kept this absolutely secret, as strictly enjoined in the scriptures and did not allow it to be known even to their own nearest and dearest.

Somehow Maharaja Laksmishwar Singh came under the influence of some great teacher of this school and we were told that he had become initiated into the school. But we never suspected anything regarding the objectionable methods with which the system had become associated from the stupidity of its votaries. In fact so guarded was the Maharaja's behaviour in this matter that up to the time that we were at college we used to deny stoutly his connection with it. When we went to Darbhanga and joined the Raj service we found that again through the stupidity of some persons' propoganda Tantra had been introduced at Darbhanga and people were initiated. My father knew about this business. When he came to Benares to die, one day he warned my brother against this form of worship. When therefore the propagandists approached my brother he told them frankly of father's warning and thereupon said

that he was going to obey that warning for life. When I joined Raj service as Librarian I began to read all sorts of books and somehow the first book I took up in Sanskrit literature was the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, as I had read nothing of Tantric literature till then. This news reached the propagandists and they hoped that I was on a fair way to joining them. My reading of the books of Tantra however, confirmed me in my belief that the path of Tantra was a very difficult one and was never meant for the common man; he common man therefore was sure to come to grief if he entered it ; the conditions of discipline prescribed were too strict to be observed except by one already possessed of superhuman power. A great pandit friend of mine who was in the circle approached me one day and told me that by keeping away from the circle we two brothers were cutting ourselves off from the highest places in the Raj to which our high qualifications entitled us. In order to humour him I told him that I had read some books and found that the path was too difficult for me. Thereupon, being an honest man, he blurted out "All this is quite true, but who is there who observes these strict rules ? People in this circle drink and make merry." I told him seriously that in that case there was no room for me in that circle. I may mention here that what rendered us immune against all this temptation was the high ethical teachings that we had imbibed through our college-life at Benares and later through the highly pure ethical doctrines of Theosophy that had entered into our very being for life. After this we were never approached and were given up as hopeless.

Another curious episode was again in connection with the two brothers Raghunandanji and Srinandanji. As already pointed out above the Maharaja was the guardian of both, Raghunandanji was the elder of the two by about 7 or 8 years. when Raghunandanji attained his majority it was decided that the management of the entire property of the brothers should be in his hands and that he should render accounts to the Maharaja regarding the share of the younger brother. This equitable arrangement however did not work properly and Raghunandanji never rendered any accounts nor did he pay any part of the income to his younger brother. The Maharaja gave him as much latitude as he could, but when Srinandanji was approaching his mojority he felt himself morally and legally bound to institute legal proceedings against Raghunandanji but before the case could proceed much further the Maharaja died and when

Srinandanji attained his majority he himself carried on the case which was finally decided by the then new Maharaja of Darbhanga who acted as an arbitrator appointed by the Court with the consent of both the parties. In this quarrel the position of us three brothers was most peculiar and it throws a great deal of light on the tolerant spirit of the late Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh. My eldest brother was much too senior to be on intimate terms with either Raghunandanji or Srinandanji. My second elder brother, however, was Raghunandji's very intimate friend, I was very intimate with Srinandanji, but also friendly with Raghunandanji. I was in Raj service ; but my somewhat dual position was rendered possible by the fact that except in relation to the Civil suit, Srinandanji's relations with his brother were most happy. Once a most curious thing happend. During the pendency of the above suit, Raghunandanji had to go to Calcutta frequently. One day it so happened that he reached Manigachi (a railway station on the B. N. W. R. which serves our village home as also Raghunandanji's residence at Bargoria) somewhat suddenly by the same train by which I came from Darbhanga. He had not time to order his conveyance. My elephant was there ready for me and I naturally offered it to him and he went to his place on that elephant, I doing my part of the journey home on foot, a matter of about three miles only. The Maharaja's people were watching over the movement of Raghunandanji and they reported to him this fact. On this the Maharaja wrote a long letter to my eldest brother telling him all the above and ended the letter with a characteristically pathetic appeal somewhat to the following effect—"of course I know that Ganga Babu is friendly towards Raghunandanji, and above all he knows that my quarrel with Raghunandanji is a just one, I have, therefore, a right to except that though he may not be prepared to help me he will atleast remain neutral". Not a word did he say about my being in his service. In fact throughout his life his attitude towards me and my brother was never that of a master towards his servant. In fact on one occasion of which I am going to speak in detail later on certain circumstances compelled me to write to my brother that unless matters were arranged according to my wishes I would retire from Raj service : It was a purley domestic matter and my brother showed my letter to the Maharaja whereupon the latter said "I have never treated you as my servants. I am prepared to sanction any arrangement that will satisfy him"; and he very kindly did sanction such an arrangement.

In connection with my relations with the Raj there was another episode that came somewhat later, after the death of Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh and after my dismissal from Raj service, which also may be mentioned in this connection. There is a branch of the Maharaja's family descended from another son of the acquirer of the Raj, Mahesha Thakur. These people even after several generations had not become reconciled to the arrangements made by Mahesh Thakur which alienated them entirely from the Raj. In pursuance of this displeasure they allied themselves to the Banaili Raj by marriage with a view, we were told, to fighting for their share in the Raj. This fight, however, never materialised. But it led them to be excommunicated from the *Śrotriya* community which had till then never allowed a girl to be married in a lower status in society.

During our boyhood this family was represented by two brothers, the younger of whom Mahamahopadhyaya Krishna Singh Thakur was not only a great Pandit but also a model of nearly perfect man. He had approached Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh with the request that he might permit his daughters to be married to *Śrotriya* boys. This the Maharaja permitted, of course, under somewhat humiliating conditions; but the male members of his family continued to remain excommunicated.

When Maharaja Rameshwar Singh came to the *Gaddī* he extended his favour to the family and decided to readmit them into the *Śrotriya* fold provided all the more important *Śrotriyas* agreed to it. About this time the misunderstandings between the Maharaja and his sisters-in-law had already commenced and we, i. e. Srinandanji's group set up an opposition to this proposal and we gathered together in our group large number of men and informed the Maharaja that there were insuperable difficulties in the way of the readmission of the family. The Maharaja ignored this opposition and as the acknowledged head of the community he decided to bring in the family depending upon the large minority of men who had agreed to the proposal.

As I have already remarked above, the Maharaja continued to have a soft corner in his heart for me. On this occasion he asked my brother why I was joining the opposition against him. I wrote in reply to the

Maharaja that I did not see on what point I had set myself in oppositon to the Maharaja. He wanted to ascertain our opinion regarding the proposed readmission of the family and while other people agreed to it we did not agree to it and we gave reasons for it. There was no opposition to the Maharaja's expressed wishes in this matter as he had not till then definitely made up his mind on the questiön at least ostensively.

On receipt of this reply of mine he told my brother what I had written to him and though he admitted that what I said was quite logical yet there was no denying the fact that every one knew that the Maharaja wished to bring in the family.

Another indication of the Maharaja's kindly feelings towards me was afforded in the early stages of the Maharanee's case. I have already said above that Srinandanji had proposed that I should act as the accredited agent of the two Maharanees and as such sign the plaint as also other important papers and I had not agreed to this proposal. The Maharaja knew of this. The plaint, as I was informed, was signed on behalf of the Maharanees by my second elder brother Gana Natha and there was only a very slight difference in the spelling in English of his name and mine. The Maharaja's agents on seeing the plaint read the signature as mine and reported to the Maharaja accordingly. On this the Maharaja again asked my eldest brother to enquire from me if what had been reported to him was true. Of course I said in reply that it was not, and that though I fully sympathised with the Maharanees I had decided once for all not to take any active part in the litigation.

To bring this disagreeable episode to a close I will mention only one other event. After the death of Srinandanji in 1905 there was a marriage in my family, that of my second daughter and the usual request for help had been addressed to the Maharaja. On this letter of mine the Maharaja wrote "Does Ganga Babu still ragard himself as belonging to Srinandanji's party" ?

The query was sent to me by the office and I sent the reply that "So far as I am concerned Srinandanji's party perished with him; specially as the titular head of the party now was a gentleman for whom I never

entertained much respect or affection". This person I may mention was B. Laliteshwar Singh, better known as Jhothoo Babu, who had, for reasons of his own, joined Srinandanji in his quarrel with the Maharaja.

I have already referred to the seeds of suspicion between the Maharaja and Srinandanji. The first indication of this curiously arose in connection with the public Memorial Meetings in honour of the late Maharaja, that were held at Calcutta and at Darbhanga on the same date. How and why the Maharaja's displeasure arose I have no idea even up to this present day. Anyway he did not like the idea of a seperate memorial at Darbhanga. The Maharaja and Srinandanji were both at Calcutta; Srinandanji having gone there as that was the more important meeting and also because he was keen that the memorial at Calcutta should be in the form of a statue. We held the meeting in Darbhanga at which the Commissioner of the division, Mr. Bowrdilla presided. It was a most unexpectedly successful meeting and the amount of money promised on the spot reached the sum of Rs .16,000/-. We wired this information to the Maharaja in the hope that he would be pleased at it. But Srinandanji told us afterwards that he was very much displeased. Unluckily for me I was made the Secretary of the Executive Committee appointed for the memorial, the President being the Collector of the district Mr. R. W. Carlyle (later the Hon. Sir Robert Carlyle). Subsequently we succeeded in raising the amount of subscription to nearly Rs. 30,000/- which was practically all duly realised. At this stage a curious circular letter arrived from the Secretary of the Calcutta Memorial Meeting, who was the Barrister H. E. A. Cotton, who later became the hon'ble Sir Evan Cotton, the President of the Reformed Bengal Legislative Council. This circular letter stated that it had been decided to erect a marble statue of the late Maharaja at Calcutta; the work had been given to the distinguised sculptor in London, Onslow Ford, and the estimated cost was Rs. 40,000/- of which they in Calcutta had succeeded in collecting Rs. 33,000/-, and it went on coolly to propose that under the circumstances the whole amount of the money collected at Darbhanga should be transferred to the Calcutta Memorial Fund. We were given to understand that this proposal had the full approval of the Maharaja. I naturaly placed the matter before the Committee at Darbhanga. Our first President was R. W. Carlyle who subsequently became a member of the

Viceroy's Executive Council, but by the time this circular letter came, he had gone and his place had been taken by H. Wheeler, who subsequently became His Execellency Sir Henry Wheeler, Governor of Bihar. He was surprised at the proposal and helped us in carrying the proposal that, as the Calcutta funds were short by only Rs. 7,000/- this amount should be sent to them and not the whole amount that we had collected. This was done in due course and the Calcutta statue was duly erected in Dalhousie Square. The project at Darbhanga was finally decided to be the erection of a Dharmashala, the estimated cost of which was just a little over Rs. 25,000/-. When Rs. 7000/- was sent to Calcutta, our fund was thus short by about Rs. 3000/- or 4000/-. This was ultimately made up by Srinandanji, and the Dharmashala was duly erected and the whole thing happily ended by its being opened by the then Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn at which meeting the Maharaja duly presided and requested the Lt. Governor to open the institution. It was only within a month of this opening that I had to leave Darbhanga.

There was one other interesting episode in my life at Darbhanga. Ever since the time of Mahesh Thakur the acquirer (and founders) of the Darbhanga Raj, it had been an institution in Mithila that after completing his studies, every Pandit had to be examined by the Raj and if successful, had to be given a pair of *Dhoties* and then alone was he recognised as a pandit in Mithila and entitled to receive the honours and emoluments attendant on the same. For this purpose periodical examinations were held, entirely oral, at the Maharaja's palace on occasions of auspicious ceremonies in the family; chiefly like the *Upanayan* of the Maharaja's son. It had gone on ever since, till the accession of Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh. On his accession he selected about half a dozen Pandits who had already come into prominence and attained the reputation in Mithila and after a nominal examination gave them *Dhoties*. This was in honour of his accession. Since then, however, as he had no children, no examinations were held and no *Dhoties* awarded during his lifetime. when Maharaja Rameshwar Singh came to the *Gaddi* he revived the institution and decided to hold a regular written examination in hononr of his accession. He put the whole thing under my charge, though I was my self a candidate as the examinations were being held after the lapse of more than 25 years. The pandits who applied were classified under

three heads. (I) Those who had completed their studies 20 years before the date of application; (2) those who had completed their studies 10 years before the date of application and (3) those who had completed their studies within the previous 10 years. Paper-setters were appointed from among the senior pandits and the system adopted was that papers on the subject were invited from a number of such setters and I with the help of Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Shivakumara Mishra selected the most suitable questions, generally only 6 in number, which made up the final paper. All these papers when ready were taken by me to the press at night and I sat at the press practically all night seeing through proofs and finally sealing up the packages for the examination of the next day. I need not add that the subject in which I was to be examined which was Sānkhya, was not included among the subjects thus dealt with, and the manner in which I was to be examined was left undetermined for several days. At this examination there were more than 300 candidates and the subjects were Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Sānkhya, Yoga, Sāhitya, Jyotiṣ, Hindi and Music (theoretical only). Two facts are note-worthy in connection with this. The subject of Nyāya was given precedence in view of the fact that this was the suject professed by Mahesh Thakur himself and the second fact was the absence of Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta· As regards Vedānta, curiously enough this has never been a favourite subject of study with Maithila pandits. And perhaps for this reason there had been no Maithila Sanyāsī till 1892 when an old Jyotishi became a Sanyasi under the well known Swami Bhaskaranand of Durgā-kuṇḍa at Benares with whom we were very friendly at the time. But it is curious how Mīmāṁsā fell from favour in Mithila. There was a time we are told when there were as many as 900 experts in that subject in Mithila while during our time there were only three (1) my tutor Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Chitra Dhar Mishra, (2) Pt. Yoga-Datta Jha and (3) Pt. Dineshwar Jha. As a consequence of this there were no candidates at our examination in these two subjects. I had read up a number of important Mīm sā texts and I had been followed by two or three other young friends, but the literature of Mīmāṁsā is so vast that none of us dared offer ourselves as belonging to the third class. i, e. the class of fresh pandits, the minimum fixed for us to pass was 66%.

Each day after the examination the answer papers were collected and

sent to the examiners concerned and the persons who were incharge of this work were my eldest brother, B. Vindhya Nath and B. Arka Nath Jha. I had nothing to do with this part of the work because I had to rush to the press immediately for getting ready the question-papers for the next day.

The examination continued for 3 days. During the night of the second day there was storm and rain and the whole huge pandal that I had erected for the examination came down with a crash. The next day the examination was to commence at 10, O'clock. I had, therefore, barely three hours in the morning in which to make fresh arrangements. I succeeded in doing this in the Darbar Hall and its corridors in the Maharaja's palace.

After this examination the question arose as to my own examination. There were only three candidates in that subject. It was suggested at first that the examination should be carried on by means of disputations among the candidates. To this, however, I objected and ultimately the Maharaja decided that it should be in the usual way. But with his extremely suspicious nature the Maharaja could not easily decide whom to appoint as my examiner. He could not very well exclude Pt. Shiva Kumar Mishra, who set me a long paper. The system adopted in the whole of this examination was that the books prescribed were divided into two sets. One set consisted of the books that the pandits read with great care and attention and the second only those larger books which they studied only partially and somewhat cursorily. This latter set of books was fixed up for the third day,on which candidates were allowed to bring their books into the hall. This same arrangement was to be made for my examination also, but the course o study for SĪnkhya being very much shorter than in other subjects, I had prepared it so thoroughly that I refused to carry books with me. On being told of this the Maharaja naturally suspected that I knew the question because I was the pupil of Pt. Shiva kumar Mishra. He, therefore, ordered that another paper also should be set for me on the following day and the person selected for this was the great Pt. Bachcha Jha. He set an extremely stiff paper, but I answered this paper with the same ease. Bachcha Jha was also asked to mark my two answer-books and not having discovered any mistakes except a very slight one in the two papers, he gave me 197

marks out of a possible 200. But with all this the Maharaja seemed to be somewhat dissatisfied and though he could not refuse me the customary pair of *Dhoties* he did not give me the shawl which, as an innovation, he gave to every Pandit who topped the list in his own subject. The explanation he gave to Srinandanji and my other friends was a curious one. He said that, however, much I might read with the pandits, English would always remain my main subject, Sanskrit being only a secondary one. Of course there was no answer to this argument and the matter rested there.

At this same examination there was something interesting in regard to the said Bachcha Jha. In the application that he made for the examination he stated that as a special case he should be exempted from the general written test; in lieu of this he proposed a much stiffer test for himself. He said, "In the regular *Sabhā* let any one put me any questions from any book bearing on the six systems of Philosophy and I shall answer them." This was somewhat like the old test current in Mithila, which was called '*Śarayantra*' at which every member in the Assembly put questions to the aspirant, not only on the Śāstras but on all sorts of subjects and he had to provide a satisfactory answer. We are told that at this test the great pandit and writer Gokul Nath Upadhyaya was asked what the taste of human excreta was ? And after some thought he said that it was bitter. On being questioned as to how he could prove this he pointed out the fact that when the ordinary village hog eats the excreta,tears are found to flow from his eyes. This satisfied the questioner. The Maharaja agreed to this proposal and one evening at a regular *Darbar*, questions on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika were put to him out of several books and he satisfactorily answered them. But after a few days when questions were similarly put to him on Vedānta and Mīmāṁsā he was nonplussed. It was curious how he failed to answer the question on Vedānta which dealt with the opening portions of the Śāṅkara Bhāṣya which every Pandit reads thoroughly. That he could not answer the question on Mīmāṁsā was not to be wondered at, because the question was out of a book which was and is rarely studied, viz. Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika*, which however, I had translated into English.

The pandit was very unhappy and every one agreed that his discomfiture was a punishment for his arrogance in proposing this sort of test. He,

however, got the *dhoti* as an expert in Nyāya which he had passed successfully. With all his vast learning this pandit suffered from a great defect, he was lacking in the spirit of humility which should mark every true pandit. He was arrogant and openly disrespectful towards his seniors, but he was a remarkable pandit. A demonstration of his great learning I had witnessed at Benares earlier when I was reading for my B. A. examination. He was then in the service of the late Raja Rameshwar Singh, who subsequently succeeded his brother and became Maharaja of Darbhanga. Raja Rameshwar Singh was staying at Benares for the medical treatment of his wife and was staying in Gurdham, very close to Durgā Kuṇḍa. I therefore, on my way to Durgā Kuṇḍa used to drop in at his place. There is a longstanding controversy between the Grammarians and Logicians regarding the exact relation between words and sentences and their meanings. Volumes have been devoted to this controversy and till recently when disputation was very much in vogue among pandits, this subject provided the most interesting topic. Bachcha Jha was a logician and at Benares at that time Mahamahopadhyaya Damodar Shastri Bharadwaj was the most militant among Grammarians. As already remarked Bachcha Jha had a great deal of vanity and freely gave expression to it. Whenever, therefore, at Benares there was a gathering of pandits he used to say that the Grammarians of Benares, specially the Maharashtras, did not know anything of the above mentioned subject which among pandits is called śabdakhaṇḍa and Damodar Shastri also used to retaliate. It was, therefore, considered desirable to arrange a bout between these two lions, and it was arranged that there should be gathering of all the principal pandits of Benares invited at Gurdham by Raja Rameshwar Singh. The gathering took place in the evening aud was attended among others by the late Maharaja of Hathwa. Of course all the principal pandits of Benares were present. A very simple question was propounded; the logician's side was taken up by Bachcha Jha and the Grammarian's by Damodar Shastri.

The question was a simple one and its simple answer was easily given by Damodar Shastri. Bachcha Jha thereupon entered into the intricacies of the problem. Damodar Shastri, as it appeared to me at the time when I had read nothing of the subject, refused to enter into those details, whereupon there was some discussion as to the admissibility of those points. The matter was decided by the two umpires who had been appointed by agreement; these

were the late Mahamahopadhyaya Kailash Siromani Bhattacharya and the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Shiva Kumara Mishra. The discussion of the details was admitted; but after a few steps it became so intricate that not only Damodar shastri but all others also failed to follow it; with the exception of course, of the two umpires, who continued to listen to Bachcha Jha and try to understand his point of view. Bhattacharya appeared to us to be especially interested and appreciative of Bachcha Jha's point of view. Damodar Shastri sat a silent listener. This went on till midnight when by common consent the gathering was dissolved and the honours of the day remained uncertain. The partisan of each disputant claimed the victory for his own champion but to my mind the umpires appeared to be inclined to assign seperiority to Bachcha Jha. I have given an ungarbled account of this because attempts have been made by the partisans of both sides to misrepresent the facts.

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4. A NEW CAREER

I was informed by my friend Govinda Dasa that Pt. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya was to retire during the year (1900) and I should therefore, immediately proceed to take the necessary steps towards securing that appointment. I, at once, wrote a letter to Dr. Thibaut and waited for his reply. This reply did not come till about the middle of September. In fact it came to me while I was at Shankarpur attending the fateful *pūjā* described above, during which I received the Maharaja's dismissal order. In his reply Dr. Thibaut told me that his reply had been delayed because, in the first place, he had gone to Europe during the vacation, and secondly he was waiting for Government's decision regarding the retirement of Pt. Aditya Ram. The final orders had now been received and the pandit was to retire in the coming November ; he added that he would be glad to have me in his place; that I should at once send an application to the Director of Public Instruction mentioning in it that I was applying at his instance. This application I sent off from Shankarpur and awaited developments.

After having made over charge of the Library at Darbhanga I went home for the Durgā Pūjā and left for Benares on the *Vijayādaśamī* day with the whole family. My plan was to await the result of my application at Benares. When I went to take leave of the Dowager Maharanees at Darbhanga both of them expressed concern at my departure because they felt that I was the only person at Darbhanga on whose advice they could rely. Curiously enough the Maharaja was also going to Patna by the same train by which I was going to Benares, and I met the Maharaja frequently during our journey and also did some work for him by way of despatching telegrammes and the like. At Benares I put up in B. Govinda Dasa's city house in 'Lakhi Chabutara'.

My mother also had been living at Benares for some months in our own ancestral house in Bansphatak, but there was no accommodation in that house for the rest of us. This was the time when certain elections were going to be held at Allahabad and having nothing to do I went over to Allahabad with B. Govinda Dasa who was one of the accredited representatives of the Benares Municipal Board to take part in the elections in which the two rival parties

were the late Raja Madho Lal of Benares and the Late Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar. I took this opportunity also of seeing Dr. Thibaut. He said that my application had been received ; a reference had been made to him and to Dr. Venis and both of them had highly recommended me, but final orders had not yet been received. In course of one of these visits to Allahabad when I was returning to Benares I met at the Railway station my old friend B. Madan Mohan who was later on the proprietor of the "Belvedere Steam Printing Works". He congratulated me upon my appointment. On my telling him that I had heard nothing of it he told me that the announcement had appeared in that morning's *Pioneer* (the *Leader* was not in existence then). I returned to Benares, went to the Carmichael Library, and saw the announcement in the *Pioneer*. I at once informed my mother, my wife, and B. Govida Dasa. I also sent a wire to my brother requesting him to inform the Maharanees and also other friends and relations at Darbhanga. Among these latter naturally were all the Pandits in the Raj. When the news reached them their joint response was communicated to my brother by the poet Chanda Jha who wrote the following couplet....

> "Harṣaka viṣaya kahala nahi jāya,
> Viṣaya ucita Vidyā bala pāya,
> Kata gota puṇya Triveṇi snāna
> Daivaka hātha māna apamāna.".

The appointment was to take effect from November 22, 1902 though the announcement was made long before that. I waited for a few days for the official intimation, after receiving which I set out again for Allahabad to hunt out a suitable house for myself. I had at that time no other friends at Allahabad except Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and the late Dr. Avinash Chandra Banerji. Malaviyaji's movements were even at that time uncertain, so I wrote to Avinash Babu asking if he could, without inconvenience, accomodate me for a couple of days. He gladly agreed to do so, subsequently, through Abinash Babu's help I secured a newly built house in Katra, very near the college, belonging to one Mata Gulam on a monthly rent of Rs. 20/-. I again saw Dr. Thibaut and thanked him for what he had done to help me. It was at this meeting for the first time that he directly tested my knowledge of Sanskrit Philosophical texts. There was a passage in *Ṣrī-Bhāṣyn* which

he was translating at the time for the "Sacred Book of the East Series." This passage had baffled him evidently. Luckily for me I found the passage quite easy to construe and explain to him. He was evidently satisfied and we proceeded to discuss our project regarding the Cyclopaedia. He told me that as a first step we should read together the *"Vivaraṇa-Prameya Saṅgraha"* of Vidyāraṇya which he said he had found to be the best text book on Vedānta. Having paid a visit to Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya and having learnt from him what books were being taught at the college I returned to Benares.

It was at this meeting that Dr. Thibaut gave me a warning. He told me that Pt. Aditya Ram had incurred the displeasure of Government on account of his zeal for the newly established Hindu College at Benares, which had led him on several occasions to lose sight of the interests of the Muir College itself. He said he knew that I was also interested in the Hindu College, that was why he told me of this danger. I told him that I was certainly interested in the welfare of the Hindu College but that could not lead me to be disloyal to the College that I was to serve.

From Benares I returned to Allahad along with my family, with my mother, who came in order to be with my wife as an addition to the family was soon expected. In due course on the 22nd of November I went to College and took over charge in the afternoon. I was asked by Dr. Thibaut to wait and attend the farewell meeting that was going to be held in honour of Pt. Aditya Ram. It was at this meeting that I met Pt. Sundar Lal (later Dr. Sir Sundar Lal) for the first time. He appeared to take to me very kindly from the very beginning and asked me even on this occasion to take part in a friendly discussion over the Indian Universities' Act of 1904 which had just been introduced by Lord Curzon's Government. After this farewell meeting, Malaviyaji accompanied me to the house I had taken and kindly offered to send some furniture from the Hindu Boarding House which was located in a couple af bungalows on the site of which the present magnificent building stands. It was on the same day at college when I was waiting with Pt. Aditya Ram for the afternoon to arrive that I met Umesh Chandra Ghosh and Abhaya Charan Mukherjee who were at that time Assistant Professors of Mathematics and English respectively. We formed there our lifelong friendship.



Dr. Ganganatha Jha with his Family

Unluckily for me within a few days of my entering on my duty my mother's illness took a rather serious turn and along with this my eldest boy, Bhava Nath fell ill of fever which developed into Typhoid of a serious type. They were put under Avinash Babu's treatment. Bhava Nath recovered in time, but my mother expired on the midnight of the 24th December. It was on this occasion of dire calamity that I felt my loneliness, but I found a real friend in need in the person of a near neighbour of mine, Pt. Madho Prasad Tiwary whom I had met at Avinash Babu's place and whom Avinash Babu had introduced to me as one who would be very helpful. This gentleman, indeed, proved of great help on this cold December night. I was a complete stranger and it was he who called my *Panda* with five or six other Brahmans; called out a carpenter from the Indian Press which at that time was located in a hired dilapidated bungalow on the junction of the Katra and Pioneer and Bank Road.. He accompanied us also to the river-side, where we performed the necessary ceremonies and returned home at about 9 O'clock in the morning. Two or three days before this my younger brother, Vijaya Nath, had arrived on hearing of the serious illness of Bhava Nath. Curiously enough just two or three days before her death mother had begun to insist on returning home to Darbhanga, and she actually got Vijaya Nath to wire to our eldest brother to come and take her away. Vijaya Nath returned home after the performance of the funeral ceremonies and on the very next day brother arrived in the morning and after having talked to me for sometime, he said, 'Now let us go to mother'. I said 'Did not you meet Vijaya Nath at Mokama ?' He said 'No why ?' I told him 'Mother died night before last'. He was naturally shocked as he had come to take her home. He left for home the same night.

Bhava Nath was not yet out of danger, so it was decided that I shall remain at Allahabad and perform the *Śrāddha* here. Plague was raging in a severe form here that year, and it was particularly bad in Katra. When, therefore, cases began to occur all round our house Avinash Babu advised me strongly to take away the family to Darbhanga, gave a strong medicine for Bhava Nath, and said that he was now sufficiently out of danger to travel by rail. We immediately left by the first train available at midnight and performed the next morning's *Śrāddha* ceremonies at Muzaffarpur, where we had to halt for about three hours at midday. We reached Darbhanga in the

evening, I immediately called our friend, the lady doctor, Miss Ramsbottom who examined Bhava Nath and said that he was none the worse for the journey and the strong medicine (which she told me was Brandy) need no longer be given. The next morning was the 10th day of my mother's death ; and as I had performed the cremation I performed the 10th day's ceremonies at Darbhanga and reached home by the midday train. There all the preparations had been made and the full *śrāddha* ceremonies were performed exactly as in the case of our father.

My eldest brother was a very straight forward and keen man of business. He felt very strongly that if the division of the property, which was mainly mother's, were delayed, difficulties would arise. He apprehended trouble from our younger brother, Vijaya Nath, who had already shown signs of being fond of litigation, which fondness went on increasing. Therefore, immediately after the *śrāddha* we set about dividing the property. Every kind of property was divided into 5 equal parts and my daughter and niece who were about 4 or 5 years of age each, were asked to take up the slips on which the name of the properties had been entered and hand them to each of us. The movable property was all collected and divided into 5 heaps and the selection began with the youngest brother. In this manner there was no trouble and the whole affair was finished in a single day. But my brother was not content with this, he got a regular document of partition drawn up in which every bit of land was entered under its survey-numbers and this document was duly registered within three months. There was no trouble; but the partition still bears signs of hurry, specially as no one took the trouble to compare if the survey numbers entered in the document tallied with the piece of land actually assigned to the parties. This has led to some confusion, but luckily there has been no quarrel among us, and whenever a confusion did arise it was all amicably settled. After a draft of the deed of partition had been initialled I returned to Allahabad leaving the family behind as plague was still bad and I had to find a suitable house away from the bazar. When I reached Allahabad, Malaviyaji again came to my rescue and with the full consent of the members of the Committee, which consisted of Pt. Sundar Lal, Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Das and himself, gave me for my residence a large room in the bungalow which constituted the Hindu Boarding House at the time.

I lived in the Hindu Boarding House for more than a month and went out in the evening for long walks always looking out for a suitable bungalow. This was not an easy task as so many conditions had to be fulfilled. It must be near the college ; it must be in a healthy locality, and above all it must be cheap ; as I could not afford to pay more than Rs. 20/- to Rs. 30/- a month. I had been appointed on a salary of Rs. 200/-. The Provincial service to which I was appointed was not at that time organised and there was no gradation. The understanding was that a sum of Rs. 500/- a month was provided for the two professors, one of Arabic and another of Sanskrit at the Muir Central College ; the senior of the two getting Rs. 300/- and the junior Rs. 200/-. When the college was established in 1872 Moulvi Zakaulla was appointed Professor of Arabic and Pt. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, the Professor of Sanskrit. The former being older in age naturally got the senior place. On his retirement he was succeeded by Maulvi Amjad Ali who then got the junior's salary of Rs. 200/- and Pandit Aditya Ram, Rs. 300/. When I joined, therefore, I got Rs. 200/- and Maulvi Amjad Ali got Rs. 300/-

While I was at the Hindu Boarding House the Superintendent was Pt. Daya Narain Bajpai, a senior student of the college, reading in the M. A. classes. I told him one day that I felt I was not doing anything for the Boarding House in return for the shelter that I was receiving and I told him, therefore, to make it known to the boarders that if any one of them had any difficulties relating to matters of religious theory or practice he could freely come to me. Curiously enough no one ever came; this experience was repeated in the year 1937, when a similar request was made to the Vice-Chancellor and by him notified to the students of the University, but no single enquirer ever came to me. Sometime during February 1903 I found a small bungalow on the City Road and on going in I found that it had already been taken by my old friend Munshi Gokul Prasad, who was then practising at the High Court and subsequently became a Judge of the Court and also Vice-Chancellor of the University. He told me that he had just taken that bungalow for himself, but added that another small bunglow was available, No. I. Pioneer Road, of which, as of many other bungalows, the proprietor was Raī Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Dasa. He gave me a letter too for the proprietor. The very next morning I went over to the city and met Lala Ram Charan Dasa who readily gave the house to me on a monthly rent of Rs. 32/- and got it cleaned and whitewashed.

I moved into it sometime during the last week of February. I lived in that house for several years, in fact till I got built my own house in George Town, with a break of only one year when I had to leave that bungalow on account of the death of plague-rats which came into the compound from the Mandi close by. There was no water-connection in the house when I came but the Lala Saheb very kindly got that done for me. Till the college vacation began on April 24 as usual I remained in the house alone by myself accompanied by Pandit Ravinath Jha.

My work with Dr. Thibaut had begun while I was still living in the Katra house. We began to read together the *'Vivaraṇa-Prameya Saṅgraha'* of Vidyaranya. In course of reading we went on marking the passage that we thought suitable for being inserted in the Encylopaedia. Side by side I began on my own account to translate the *Praśasta-Pada Bhāsya* along with its voluminous commentary, the *Nyāyakandalī*.

It was during this session that I was elected patron of the Maharashtra students' Social Gathering of which I was told the Principal of the College and the Professor of Sanskrit were the patrons. This was an excellent institution. The Muir college used to be very popular with the Maharashtrians and we had, therefore, excellent batches of Maharastra students. They were specially welcome to the professor of Sanskrit as curiously enough the indigenous population of tbe heart of *Āryāvarta*, i. e. the U. P. under the boundaries fixed by Manu, the country bounded on tbe north by the Himalaya, on the south by the Vindhya Range, on the west by the river Sarasvatī in kurukshetra and in the east by Prayag, has never taken kindly to the study of Sanskrit, and they have always tried to find excuses for it on some pretext or the other. The larger number of our stndents, therefore, at the Muir College consisted of Maharastras and even so the numbers when I joined in 1902 were as follows :

In the 4 th year ....2.
In the 3 rd year ....2.
In the 2 nd year ....2. or 3.
and in the Ist year ....5 or 6,

and this number has scarcely ever gone beyond 60 or 65 even to the present day. These Maharsatra gatherings used to be held in Rambagh, the magni-

ficent garden house on the river-bank at Shivakoti, belonging to the same Lala Ram Charan Dasa. There used to be some music, some sort of humorous speeches and light refreshments. The programme lasted for about an hour or two. It was in connection with this function that I was asked, perhaps with the covert idea of testing my powers, to compose that they called a welcome ode in Sanskrit. I did this for them and one of them told me, when he came back from his home after the vacation, that his people in the South had been so pleased with the ode that they regarded me as a great poet, a title, however, to which I had not then or ever afterwards aspired.

About this same time I saw Mr. T. C. Lewis, the Director of Public Instruction and he seemed to take me very kindly at once, due most likely, as he actually said, to the good opinion of myself expressed by Dr. Thibaut and Dr. Venis. He continued to be kind to me during all the several years that he remained D. P. I. and he remembered me till the end which came only a few years ago. He was the author of a volume of verses *"From the East and From the West"*

At that time there was a provincial Text Book Committee under the Director's office. The D. P. I. was the President of the general body and of the various sections several Inspectors of Schools were the Chairmen and there were Secretaries to each section. Of the Sanskrit-Hindi section the chairman was the Late Rai Bahadur Gyanendra Nath Chakravarty and I was the Secretary of that; my friend Shamsululema Maulvi Amjad Ali was the Secretary of the Arabic-Persian and Urdu Section. All this was an ex-officeo sort of arrangement. Within a few days of my joining the Muir College I received a summon from the Joint Magistrate asking me to attend his court as a handwriting expert. I saw Dr. Thibaut and asked him if I should attend. He said that as Government servants we were expected to assist in these matters. I attended, but I told the Magistrate at once that I was not a handwriting expert, I was merely a Sanskrit scholar. Then he asked me to give my evidence as a Commonsense witness. I was asked to identify and compare the two signatures of a 'patwari'. I found some differences between the two signatures, pointed them out to the Court, and came away.

In connection with my work of the Text Book Committee there

were two incidents which although enhanced my position in the eyes of the D. P. I., Mr. Lewis, yet somehow created a disagreeable impression upon those of his Assistants Mr. C. F Delafosse, who subsequently became the great D. P. I. and the famous first Vice-Chancellor of the re-organised University of Allahabad. The business of the Text Book Committee was carried on in the following manner : Each book that was submitted to the Committee by the publishers was sent to the Secretary of the Sub-Committee concerned. He was expected to report if the book was likely to prove useful as a Text-book and he was also asked to give an opinion in detail regarding its suitability or unsuitability. This report was placed before the Sub-Committee concerned, which passed its own resolution, which was mostly in the form "not required," or "suitable for class so and so" "for libraries" or "as a prizebook." All these recommendations of the various Sub-Committees were placed before the General Committee at its annual meeting, which expressed its final opinion which was as a rule accepted by the Department. At one of the meetings of the General Committee I found that a certain book on Arithmatic written in Hindi had been approved by the Sub-Committee concerned while the opinions expressed on the book by the Secretary and by other members of the Sub-Committee were against it. I asked how it was that in the face of the consensus of opinion against a book it had been approved by the Sub-Committee. On this Mr. Delafosse who was Assistant D. P. I. and the Secretary of the General Committee, rose and said that my question was improper as the book had been approved and also tentatively accepted by the Department. Of course I was taken aback as till then I had not realised the intrigues of the Text Book Committee. He went on to say that my question implied censure on the D. P. I. Mr. Chakravarti however, stood up in my defence and said that I only wanted information and it was not my intention to imply any censure on anyone. The matter dropped there and the book was of course accepted. One or two years later there was another incident in which I was more nearly concerned. A book on Indian History for the lower classes had been sent up by the publishers and as I found out later, it had been already approved in its English and Urdu versions. I however knew nothing about this at the time. When it came to me for preliminary review I found that it contained several objectionable features. The most objectionable of these that I can recall was that it contained such statements as that the

the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were mere "fibs"; "Nirī-Kahāniyāṅ" were the exact words. The second objectionable feature was that in the pictures of the early Aryans, the Aryans were presented as praying to the Sun-god, but they were absolutely naked; and the third point was that the Great Buddha was described as witnessing the troubles of men in a dream. And in addition to this there was much in the language in several places which was unsuitable. The book had been published by a well-known firm of publishers who were very much in the good books of the Department as a whole. Luckily for me Pt. Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, a very much more experienced man, had also reported adversely upon the book. Our Sub-Committee accepted our view and reported against it. All these reports were not supposed to be known to the members of the other Sub-Committees till they were presented to the General Committee. When the matter came before the General Committee, however, a member of the Committee, the Headmaster or the Principal of the Jainarain's college of Benares stood up and made a most disagreeeble speech calling into question the propriety of the 'two pandits' who had expressed adverse opinions against the subject-matter of the book, while under the rules all that they were required to do was to report upon the suitability of the language. Pt. Aditya Ramji was of course furious at this; so was I; but I kept myself under control and requested Panditji to let me answer the impertinent speech. My fear was that in his righteous indignation Panditji might lose his temper and spoil our case. Mr. Lewis was presiding. I asked in the first place how it was that the previous speaker had got at the reports; it had not yet come before the Committee. Of course no answer was vouchsafed. The Secretary at that time was Mr. Moss who was Assistant D. P. I. He simply hung down his head and kept quiet. Then I proceeded and addressing the President said "I would like to have your opinion, sir, as to what exactly we are required to do as reviewers of the books sent to us. Are we to report on both the language and subject matter or on language alone? I may say, that so far as I am concerned I would be very glad if you ruled that we were to deal with the language only, because that would render our task very much easier." The D. P. I. said, as was expected, "When a book goes to you for a review you are certainly expected to consider it in all its aspects, regarding the language, the subject matter and other details." This cleared the matter so far as that was concerned; but it did not rest there. When our report

began to be read the whole Committee began to be interested. And at the end of it Dr. Thibaut rose and said somewhat as follows, "On hearing the reports of the pandits, instead of blaming them for critcising the subject matter, we should be thankful to them for bringing to light such glaring defects which we had failed to notice in the other versions of the book". The upshot of the whole incident was that the book was rejected and it was decided that so far as the early period of Indian History was concerned there should be a very short chapter giving all that there was known with certainty and leaving out all conjectural conclusions. I was asked to write out that chapter which was ultimately approved. It was all very well; but it left behind bitterness in some quarters; very much against the character of Englishmen who with their democratic instincts do not cherish any ill-will on such rebuffs in course of business. This canker remained in one heart, at least and he took the first opportunity that presented itself to him to avenge himself whereby he inflicted upon me the only injury that I had to bear in the whole course of my official life.

The work of reviewing books, though generally irksome, was very useful to me in one way. This was the reviewing of books not for the Text Book Committee but for the Department. This was a useful and instructive work, Before Lord Curzon's time the annual report of Public Instuction used to contain a review of all the books that had come within the purview of all the departments. It used to contain in the past nothing more than a list of the books with their places of publication, prices and such dry details. Very soon after I joined there was a long memorandum drawn up by Lord Curzon which was sent to us and which enclosed along with it the annual report published in England in the English Journal *Athaenium* and we were directed to draw up our annual reports on the same lines, i. e. not to give the list of books but to review in detail any kind of publication that might have been received and also and a somewhat detailed report on the "trend of thought" of the people as revealed in the publications. I found the work extremely interesting and it was in course of these works that I read through three volumes of lectures by Swami Vivekananda. The opinions expressed in these lectures were entirely akin to my own and they served the purpose of fixing my ideas with some degree of confidence, as having been entertained by a person of that eminence. This remained one of the most cherished experiences in my life and has enabled me to deal with all religious and social questions in an orthodox and yet a rati-

onal manner. These annual reports of mine were highly appreciated, though my colleague of the Arabic department resented this extra work imposed upon us for which of course we were paid nothing and a paid reviewer was to come later on, perhaps as a result of my friend's protest who said to me on receipt of the aforesaid memorandum—*Denā lenā kucha nahī aur report yon likho tyon likho.*

All this time I was carrying on my own literary work side by side with the work in collaboration with Dr. Thibaut. The teaching staff of the Muir College was that time very small. It consisted of the Principal, Dr. Thibaut who took up the teaching of any subject on the Arts side, for which a teacher was wanted. There was a Professor of English. This was Mr. Jennings, who subsequently became Principal of the college and then went on to Bihar as D. P. I. where subsequently he became the first Vice-Chancellor of the newly established University of Patna. There was no other professor on the Arts side except, of course we two, for Arabic and Sanskrit. Under the science side there were a professor of Physics and a professor of Chemistry. The professorship of Physics kept on constantly changing. But during the year that I joined it was one Mr. Patterson; and as professor of Chemistry we had Dr. Hill, who later on became the Principal and died in harness. Then there was a professor of Mathematics who at that time and for several years after, was Mr. Homersham Cox. In addition to these professors there was an assistant professor of Mathematics who was Umesh Chandra Ghosh and an assistant Professor of English who was Abhaya Charan Mukherjee, a young man who had joined only six months before me. Both these good friends have died recently. With each and every-one of these colleagues my relations were most cordial. Of course the two last mentioned soon became my intimate friends. Two other members of the staff with whom I became intimate were Dabendra Nath Pal and Satish Chadra Deb, who were at the time Demonstrators in Physics and Chemistry respectively. There was also an assistant professor of Persian. Five of us Umesh Babu, Abhaya Babu, Satish Babu and Deben Babu with myself formed among ourselves a very happy family-group, which was broken up only on the death of Deben Babu, Satish Babu, and recently of Umesh Babu and Abhay Babu though in the case of the last the relationship established continues in the next generation.

During the summer vacation of 1905 our sixth child, Shiva Nath, was born. We moved then into another bungalow, 13 Church Road. Vaidya Nath, my youngest brother, was with us, having come from Benares in the preceding year. While we lived on the Church road we had a grand performance of *Sarasvatī Pūjā* accompanied by a Sanskrit Drama '*Veṇī Saṁhāra*' and the Hindi drama '*Satya Hariścandra.*' The part of *Sūtradhāra* at the latter was taken by Purushottam Das Tandon, now the 'Speaker' of the U. P. Assembly. There was a large gathering due to the fact that it was the Kumbha year which had brought at Allahabad a large number of men including pandits. The Maharaja of Darbhanga had also come. But he wrote that he could not come to our performance as he was otherwise engaged at *Triveṇī*. During the end of this session we had an unpleasant experience. Our next door neighbour was one Mr. C. B. Rattigan, one of the editors of the *Pioneer*. He had gone on leave and his house was occupied by a Superintendent of police, by name D. M. Straight who was too great a *Barā-Sāheb* to endure the shoutings of a number of 'native' children. I spoke to Dr. Thibaut about it. He very kindly offered to write to Government but I told him that I did not want the matter to go so far as I was going to leave the house after the vacation. I learnt afterwards from the Rev. Mr. Holland, Warden of the Oxford and Cambridge Hostel, who was a great friend of mine, that Mr. Straight's conduct had been resented by all European gentlemen, who talked about it at the club. The vacation soon approached and we went home. On returning to Allahabad I again went out hunting for a house and soon found one at 5 Muir Road. This house, however, was not very suitable. In the meantime, the occupant of our old bungalow at I, Pioneer Road, who was a retired Military officer had died and his widow was going to vacate the house as she could not afford to pay the rent. I took the house at once, but Lala Ram Charan Dasa gave it to me on a monthly rent of Rs. 35/-, the enhancement being due to the improvements that I had got done in the house while I was there. During the winter, however, we had the trouble again of rats dying in the house and we had to shift. Not finding any suitable house available near the college I appealed to Lala Ram Charan Dasa; he told me that all his fifty-five bungalows had been taken up, but he very kindly offered me the rooms at Shivakoti below the Bārādarī. They were very fine rooms though small yet quite adequate for us. It was very pleasant because of the fine Chabūtarā

in front and the river running close by, scarcely 50 ft. from our rooms. For similar reasons my friend Abhaya Babu also had to shift and he moved also to Shivakoti into the palatial Ganga Mahal of the Nepalese Ranas. So we had a very pleasant time during about two months that we spent there. It was only when the vacation came that we left the place and visited Benares for the marriage of Govind Dasa's second son, Sri Vilas. From there I took the whole family to Hardwar where we secured good lodgings in the Ayodhya House. But our stay there this time was not very pleasant as the whole family except myself was ill, one after the other, of a mild type of small pox. On recovery of the patients we returned to Allahabad.

During the previous summer vacation, however, I came back to Benares from home and went to Hardwar for the first time with my friend B. Govind Dasa, and spent most pleasant two months there. We lived in the house of Lala Sukhbir Singh, on the bank of the river. We had left all serious work behind and the only books that we carried were a couple of novels so that during the two months of May and June we led a purely physical life, bathing in the ice cold water of the river three times a day, spending the whole day on the river bank within, perhaps, six inches of the river, drinking as much water as our stomach could contain and sleeping also in the same close proximity to this river. It was only about two hours in the evening that we spent in walks. But in that too we daily ascended to the top of the Sūraj-kuṇḍa hill just behind the railway station. We also took a lot of exercise, purely Indian style. twice daily. We benefitted a great deal from all this and determined to spend all our summer vacations in the same manner, but like other human wishes this too was never fulfilled. At the time of the Ganga Dashahara there is always a great rush of pilgrims at Hardwar. When that time came there came to Hardwar a lot of ladies related to Lala Sukhbir Singh, and we had to shift to the same gentleman's garden house at Bhīma-gadā. This garden also abutted on the river bank but it did not afford facilities for sitting or sleeping close to the river. We were to stay in that house for about a week. In course of that week we drove over to Hrishikesh on a *Tamtam.* Lorries had not come into existence and the railway line to Hrishikesh had not been made. There also we lived in a small house on the river bank belonging to Lala Sukhbir Singh's maternal uncle, Lāla Badri Dasa. The compound of this house also abutted on the river, but as there was no pukka ghāṭ we

slept in the open in the compound itself. While we were still at Hardwar we were joined. by my eldest brother Vindhya Nath. His health had broken down so much that he had to be accompanied by our youngest brother Vaidya Nath who had to help him in the way in getting down and up the various trains. So he was also with us at Hrishikesh. We decided to go over to Lakṣmaṇa-Jhūlā, the distance is a short one, nearly two or three miles. I walked the distance, but neither B. Govind Dasa nor was my brother physically fit to negotiate the ups and down; B. Govind Dasa because of his Asthma and my brother on account of his extreme weakness; though during two or three days that he had spent at Hardwar he had gained sufficient strength to take short walks. The only conveyances that we could get at Hrishikesh for going to Lakṣmaṇa-Jhūlā were a *Dandi* and a small *baniya's* pony. It was a small pony but it served our purpose well. We placed upon its back our few utensils and all our bedding; on the top of which all B. Govind Dasa deposited himself. My brother as the weakest of the party, took the *Dandi*. On reaching Lakṣmaṇa-Jhūlā we found the Dharmashala not clean. But going over to the other side of the river we found a neat little bungalow which we were told was the Government Inspection House. It was B. Govind Dasa who suggested that as I was in Govt. service I had the right to occupy it. So we went over to the place most beautifully situated on a precipice just above the river. On telling the Chowkidar who we were, we were gladly admitted, but we were warned that we would not be permitted to cook our food in the house, not even on the verandah. But we did not mind this and cooked our food under the tree outside. Next morning we bathed in the river and I performed my *Sandhyā* etc. seated on a huge stone boulder lying in the middle of the river. After having taken our meals we returned to Hrishikesh. We had seen at Hardwar several flotillas called *Beṛā* of long pieces of timber and bamboos being floated down the river with only one or two men seated on them and guiding them; and we had often expressed a wish of performing a journey, however short, on one of these flotillas.

When I was walking back to Hrishikesh I noticed that on one of the Ghāṭs there were lying heaps of bamboos and woods, I went over there, on enquiry if there was any *beṛā* going down, I was told that there was only one consisting entirely of Bamboos that was ready to start, and would start after mid-day. On my enquiry if they could take any passengers they said,

yes, at the rate of annas-8/- a passenger and they would let us get down at any ghāt in Hardwar that we liked but they stipulated that there should be no lady among them. I readily agreed and coming back to our lodgings I communicated the glad tidings to my companions who were all very glad at the prospect. Our belongings were already packed, so we went on to the ghāt along with only one servant whom we had brought and spread our bedding on the flotilla which started after 1 O'clook. The man in charge of the flotilla would not permit us to have our umbrellas up, as he said, that would retard our progress. It was mid-day and about the end of June, no clouds were visible anywhere; but on account of the air-current coming to us along the cool water, we did not feel at all inconvenienced by the mid-day sun. We reached *Bhīmgodā* at Hardwar just after sun-set. We found the journey extremely exhilarating specially as there was not the slightest danger involved. The water was nowhere very deep, except of course on points where the river flows along the foot of the hills, where it was unfathomable. Very soon after starting, however, we noticed that the only rope that tied up the large number of bamboos consisted of ordinary straw just twisted single-fold, which under ordinary circumstances would not stand the strain of the pulling of even two men. But somehow or other they served their purpose and kept the bamboos in place. In places, however, where there were sharp bends in the river there were corresponding bendings in the huge flotilla also and under the force of this bending the whole thing creaked and the said apology for ropes was put to a great strain and we felt that the whole thing was going to snap. Nothing untoward, however, happened and we reached our destination, fully satisfied that one of our life's ambitions had been fulfilled.

It was about this time that my literary work in collaboration with Dr. Thibaut took shape. We decided that before actually compiling the Cyclopaedia it would be much better as a preliminary step to translate all the more important works bearing upon the various systems of Philosophy; and we proposed to select for this work the most important and at the same time the most difficult books. Side by side with these we were to translate some of the standard simpler books also. Details regarding this will appear under another chapter. When this work had gone on for about two years Dr. Thibaut retired from the Principalship of the Muir College and was appointed Registrar of the University. Before long, however, he was called away to the Calcutta

University by Sri Ashutosh Mukherjee, where he worked for sometime as Registrar and subsequently as Professor of Vedic Culture which post he kept till his death in 1914. At Calcutta he was so hard worked that he could not find time to do any literary work. The whole of our work had by now taken shape in the form of a quarterly Journal called *Indian Thought* to the earlier numbers of which Dr. Thibaut made important contributions.

These I had had to discontinue when he went to the Calcutta University where he remained till his death in 1914. The whole brunt of the work of *Indian Thought* therefore, fell upon my shoulders. Till the very end Dr. Thibaut continued to apologize to me and to hope that very soon he would have time to devote to *Indian Thought*, a hope that was never realised.

It was in 1907 that I had my first and last rebuff in official life. In 1907 Moulvi Amjad Ali retired and as had been said above under the old arrangement which was in force till 1905 and which also retained under the reorganisation of the Provincial service made in that year and the official arrangements made by the D. P. I. Mr. Lewis who had retired by this time the grade of 300/- which was vacated by Amjad Ali's retirement should have come to me; but Mr. De La Fosse who had succeeded Mr. Lewis prevailed upon my friend Abhaya Chandra Mukherji (as Abhaya Babu told me himself later on) to send up a memorial protesting against the arrangement made by Mr Lewis on the technical ground that he had joined the service (though only as a temporary hand) 6 months earlier than myself. I was kept completely in the dark till the whole thing had been settled; when De La Fosse himself told me that the memorial had come and Abhaya Charan Mukherji's request had been granted, I protested to him, of course, but he took his stand upon a technical ground and said that under the cricumstances he could not very well refuse Abhay Charan's request, but that if I liked I might send up a memorial of my own to Government and he would forward it though he could not recommend it. I consulted my old and very experienced friend B. Baleshwar Prasad who had retired by this time as junior Secretary of the Board of Revenue and he advised me not to send up the memorial; not only because it would be useless but also because it would do me positive harm as, in order to justify his precious action, the D. P. I. in forwarding my memorial to Government would naturally put the case against me very strongly, and the sort of man that he was, he might say things that would go to damage

my official career for life. I naturally accepted this advice and kept quiet, though both Dr. Thibaut and Mr. Lewis wrote to sympathise with me and to say that they were sorry for the decision that had been taken. The result of this was that my position in the gradation went one step lower and while Abhaya Babu was promoted to the Rs. 300/- grade I continued at Rs. 250/-. It is interesting to note that several years after this, seven or eight years perhaps, in connection with another memorial of mine Government at last indirectly accepted the justice of my case, but apologetically added that after such a long time they could not very well upset the grade arrangements; they however granted me an allowance of Rs. 50/- a month which they called a 'compensatory allowance'; this I continued to draw till my transfer to Benares, when again, due to uniform kindness of Mr. De La Fosse, it was discontinued on the ground that I had been promoted to a higher grade.

The first reorganisation of Indian Universities was made by Lord Curzon, through the Indian Universities Act of 1904, by which the number of fellows, which meant membership of the Senate, was restricted. Before that there was an indiscriminate nomination of fellows without any limit. Under the said Act the number of fellows for the Allahabad University was limited to 60, of whom 45 were nominated by Government and 15 were elected to the Senate by the Faculties. The Senate elected 15 members to the Syndicate. In addition to these 15 the Vice-Chancellor, the Chief Justice and the D. P. I. were Ex-officio members of the Syndicate. This reorganisation of the Allahabad University came about in 1905 when I was nominated as a fellow. This was somewhat unexpected so early in my career, especially as Pt. Aditya Ram still continued to be an active member of the Senate and the Syndicate. This early recognition I suppose was due to the good opinion that Mr. Lewis had of me which he seems to have communicated to the Lt. Governor, Sir James Latouche, through Mr. Butler who though a junior officer of the I. C. S. at the time, had already become a marked man and was occupying at the time the post of Education Secretary to the U. P. Government. This good opinion of Mr. Butler formed so early helped me throughout my life. All this I learnt afterwards when I remembered that at the very first garden party that I attended at the Government House, Allahabad, Mr Butler asked someone (I forget whom) to introduce me to him. I had been in service barely for a year then. It was curious that

it was at another garden party at the same Government House during the time of Sir James Meston that I was similarly introduced to Sir William Marris who was at the time perhaps Inspector General of Police and subsequently became the Governor of the Province. He was also very kind to me and till the time of his retirement he treated me as a very close personal friend.

When I came to the University Dr. Thibaut who had by that time discovered that I was rather shy by nature asked me to get rid of that shyness. It was perhaps at his instance that I discovered the root cause of this shyness and the remedy for it. At public gatherings I used to feel that there were a large number of men present who were very superior to me in every way; this feeling made me unable to speak at any public meeting. The remedy that I discovered was to cultivate some sort of an arrogance; the idea to be cultivated being that at the gathering though there were some men of the calibre of Dr. Thibaut, for instance, who were distinctly superior to me in learning and intelligence there must be many who were only equal to me or even inferior. Once this spirit was inculcated I became less and less shy. I fully remember that when within three months of my joining the Muir College I was asked to preside at a meeting of the Hindu Boarding House Union by my pupil Ramakanta Malaviya who was then in the second year class, I agreed on the condition that I should not be asked to make a speech, and at the meeting I stuck to this and never opened my lips. When I entered the University Senate though there were many people there whom I regarded as intellectual giants, for instance Dr. Thibaut, Dr. Venis, Pt. Sundar Lal, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Ward of the Canning College, Theodore Morrsion of the Aligarh College and Mr. Cox, I did not feel very shy and at the very first meeting that was convened for the purpose of adopting the first set of regulations I sent up some important proposals. The Vice-Chancellor at that time was the High Court Judge, Sir George knox, who was another high placed gentleman, who atonce took to me very kindly and throughout his life remained a very close personal friend though he was senior to me by about 25 years. One of the proposals that I had sent up was for the institution of a Doctorate on the Arts side. I had secured Malaviyaji as the seconder of my proposal and Dr. Thibaut, of course, was among those who promised to support. At the meeting, however,

curiously Dr. Venis raised some difficulty at which prominent member of the Science faculty like Cox and Ward pressed me to withdraw the proposal for the time being. I was somewhat confused at the unexpected opposition and without consulting any one, even Dr. Thibaut, I withdrew the proposal. Dr. Thibaut told me that I had been rather hasty in withdrawing because he himself and some other prominent members were going to support my proposal. From that moment there arose a certain feeling of unfriendliness in me towards Ward and also to his inseparable companion Cox. I renewed my proposal later on.

That I already at this early stage won the esteem of my colleagues in the University, both Indian and European, was shown by the fact that when proposals for the membership of the Syndicate were invited my name was one of those proposed. I think this proposal was made by R. B. Lala Ram Saran Dasa of Fyzabad, who also became a great friend of mine, though I did not succeed in getting elected to the Syndicate. At this meeting I was told by Dr. Thibaut that I had secured quite a large number of votes which were not larger simply because Pt. Aditya Ram's name had also been put up and people did not like to let him go so soon after his retirement. But the support that I had secured emboldened me still further and I had several tussles with several very prominent members, which brought me still further into prominence.

The first of these was with Mr. Jones, Principal of the Agra College. Young English men coming out to India have as a rule a very poor opinion of the intellectual equipment of Indian students. So it had become somewhat of a custom for most Professors of English to opine that the Indian students did not appreciate English Poetry, so they should not be taught Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth etc. Though, the fact of the matter was that till recently English literature had not been taught at Oxford or Cambridge as an independent branch of study and research; as a necessary consequence of this, people who were recruited in England had never studied English Poetry and Literature seriously. Hence they could not teach that subject with ease. Even in Government service I remember a Professor who had been imported, once said to the B. A. class "I find that you are reading Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution, I donot know what

and how I am to teach you this book". Another similar recruit who was asked by a student how to parse a certain word, laughed and said, "Oh ! I would not parse it at all". This young man confessed to us that he had taken his degree at Oxford in History and knew of Shakespeare only through Lamb's Tales. And yet he had been recruited as a Professor of English at the Premier Government College.

Before I had come to the University Mr. Cameron of the Canning College had brought forward a proposal to the effect that English Literature should be made optional because, he argued, Indian students could not appreciate English Poetry. This proposal was defeated. A few months after I came to the Senate this same proposal was made by Mr. Jones of Agra. I opposed it and in doing so said. "Whether students appreciate the subject or not depends to a very large extent upon the efficiency or otherwise of the teacher; I remember that we were taught at the Queen's College Wordsworth's Ode on '*Immortality*' in the Intermediate class by a professor so well that Wordsworth's poem left a permanent mark upon our minds which continues to the present day; The same poem somehow was contained in a book prescribed for our B. A. examination, but the teacher was a different one, a very much more experienced man; but when he began to teach the same ode the whole class went to sleep, we found it all very boring. So I held the opinion that if a certain teacher does not find his class appreciating the subject the fault lies in himself and not in the students". This hit at the speaker had a tremendous effect and the proposal was scotched.

With Ward I came into clash over the courses of study for the Intermediate examination. Under the rule recently introduced at the time, it was incumbent upon every student at the B. A. stage to offer either a Classical language or Mathematics. This naturally led to larger Mathematical classes in the Intermediate stage. This the teacher of Mathematics did not like; so through Mr. Ward they brought up proposals before the Senate whereby Mathematics at the Intermediate stage became entirely optional. Hitherto it had been compulsory along with a classical language on the Arts side. I opposed this proposal and in this I had the full support of all experienced men such as Sir George Knox, Dr. Thibaut, Venis, and practically all Indian members, with the exception of the Canning College group

which was bluffed by Ward into supporting him. There were long discussions and at the first meeting the matter was postponed. About this time I had a curious experience of dreams, the first of its kind. I dreamt that the best arrangement at the Intermediate would be to divide the courses in Mathematics into two parts and to have a sort of 'bifurcatory adjustment' (this phrase actually came to me in my dream); thus on awakening I drafted my proposal using this exact phrase and explaining that two courses should be arranged in such a way that one who took only the first part of classics should take both parts of Mathematics, while one who offered the first part of Mathematics should offer both parts of classics. In this way I managed to secure the reading of Mathematics by all students and yet affording relief for those who found the over growing course of Mathematics too difficult for themselves. When this reasonable proposal came before the Senate there was strong opposition from Ward and his party. And after long discussions the conclusion at that meeting was that the whole matter of the Intermediate courses should be referred to a small committee of which in addition to Dr. Thibaut, Jennings, Ward, Pirie and one or two others and myself were members. This gave me an opportunity for explaining my proposal and making it possible for the Classical language students to take up the Science Course also. This, I explained to the meeting, was necessitated by the founding of the Medical College at Luknow to which Arts students as a class could not be admitted for want of the requisite knowledge of Science. I succeeded in carrying my proposal through in the committee. Perhaps Ward and Pirie were the only members who voted against it, When the matter went up to Senate there was a lot of convassing by Ward but ultimately my proposal was carried. This event of the defeat of the great Mr. Ward, who had been regarded as irrepressible, gave a fillip to my reputation. And even at the meeting itself Lewis the D. P. I. passed on to me a slip saying "congratulations on your great victory". This poor man Lewis, great Mathematician himself, used to be bullied by Ward and others, so he regarded this as a personal triumph for himself. Dr. Thibaut told me that this event had raised me in the estimation of Jennings who was going to be the next Principal, and he regarded me as a good tactecian.

It was sometime in 1906 or 1907 that I renewed my proposal for the institution of the Doctorate in the Arts Faculty. The proposal was supported

all round in the Senate and a committee was appointed to draft the necessary Regulations; of this I was made the convener, and the members included Dr. Thibaut, Mr. Richardson (then of the Canning College), Mr. Jesse (Principal Meerut College), Dr. Venis and some others. The scheme, at the very outset was restricted to M. As. in Sanskrit or Arabic; as it was argued that there was not much scope in tbe country for research in other branches of study. In course of the discussions, Jesse suggested that the supplicant for the degree must know French and German. I opposed this and Dr. Thibaut also; he said that there were many subjects on which no work had been done in any European language, and if a supplicant chose any of these subjects, there could be no reason why a knowledge of these languages should be demanded from him; as an example he cited 'The Prabhākara school of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā'. A compromise was effected to the effect that as a preliminary step an advisory committee of three members should be appointed to advise the supplicant regarding what would be required of him; and this committee would tell him if it was necessary for him to acquire knowledge of French, German or other lagguages.

These Draft Regulations passed through the Faculty and were finally adopted by the Senate. I followed this up by an application for permission to supplicate for the Degree; when I consulted Dr. Thibaut about this, he said—"Yes; this would be better than any number of Regulation to show what is demanded of a candidate for the degree". —It was decided to style this degree "Doctor of letters", in brief Litt. D. or D. Litt.

I took my cue from Dr. Thibaut's speech and selected for my subject "The Prabhākara School of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā". When my application went to the Faculty, difficulties at once cropped up regarding the Advisors and Examiners. Dr. Thibaut was the only modern scholar who had done any work on Mīmāṁsā so he naturally came in as one; but for others, the University had to wait for some months, after which they were constrained to have two Pandits—Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Shivakumara Mishra and Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Gangadhara Shastri, both of Benaras; and as I had already written up my Thesis I was asked to supply a translated resume in Sanskrit also; as the Pandits did not know English. After some months, the thesis was duly approved by the three Examiners, and the Public Viva-

Voce Examination was held during April 1909, at which I had to answer questions in Sanskrit, English and also Hindi, as one of the questions was of general interest and Dr. Thibaut asked .me to explain my point in Hindi, for the benefit of those who could not understand Sanskrit, among those being Pandit Sundarlal and many others. I got the degree in Nov. 1809 being presented by Dr. Venis as Principal of my dear college, the Queen's of Benares.

My attempt to make the Medical degree available for the Classical Language students brought me into some sort of conflict with the Col. Selby who was the Principal of the Lucknow Medical College and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine under the University. He, however, soon understood my position and agreed with my proposals, but all this effort of mine was rendered nugatory so far as U. P. was concerned, because our prominent Scientists of Lucknow and Allahabad having been opposed to my proposal under which at the Intermediate stage a man could offer a Classical language along with the Science subjects, they got over it by refusing to permit this combination at their colleges on the flimsy excuse that it could not fit in with the Time-table. The combination was however, freely offered in the colleges of the Central Provinces which at that time were affiliated to the Allahabad University. And I believe some Classical language students did benefit by it.

Another proposal that I made at the early stages was that a paper on Vernacular essay and translation should be made compulsory for every student going up for the University examination. This also was opposed by practically all Principals of colleges, with all sorts of arguments, but the reason lurking in their minds was the obvious one that they would have to provide an adequate staff in at least Hindi and Urdu. With the help of Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and some other members my proposal was defeated, the opposition of some of the Muslims resting upon the ground that Hindi and Urdu should not appear anywhere separately in the University courses.

It seems incredible and yet it is none the less true that this flimsy argument was again made use of in connection with another proposal of mine. Under the regulations relating to the Boards of Study there was a

single Board for all "Indian Vernaculars", under which we had at the time Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, even Parbatia and Telugu and Tamil and yet the number of members was only 7; with the result that many of the languages were left unrepresented and I as convener of the Board was very often embarrassed when proposals regarding courses came to us from public. I, therefore, proposed that either there should be three separate Boards, one for Hindi, one for Urdu, and one for the other languages, or that the number of members of the existing Board should be raised to 11 or 12, in order to enable us to have representatives for all languages. This separate mention of Hindi and Urdu again aroused the suspicion of my Muslim friends, led again by Dr. Ziauddin, on the same old communal grounds relating to Hindi and Urdu. On these grounds, the European members always felt nervous, hence they helped in having my proposals negatived on the ground that, as they said, the proposal raised 'The Hindu-Muslim qusetion'. All my arguments to the effect that the distinction into Hindi and Urdu was already there in the Regulations relating to the Matriculation had no effect.

There was one other occasion where the canvassing of Musalman votes proved too much for me; that was in connection with the proposal made by Dr. Ziauddin to the effect that it need no longer be incumbent upon every B. A. candidate to offer either a classical language or Mathematics. They were to offer English and any other two subjects. This proposal also was carried with the help of the Principals of the Muffassil colleges.

One other matter that came up before the University about this time gained for me the good-will of my Musalman friends. For a long time, even before my time, the idea was current that very few students offered Sanskrit and that this was due to the fact that Persian offered a much softer option and therefore attracted a large majority of students, atleast some of whom otherwise would have offered Sanskrit. Within a very short time I detected the fallacy of this idea. This idea was further based upon the notion prevailing that there were a larger number of failures in Sanskrit than in Persian. During two or three years I found that in my paper at the Matriculation the percent age for failure was about 25. Out of curiou-

sity I enquired from the Registrar's office and found that the percentage of failure in Persian was often between 30 and 35. This led me to the conclusion that there was no conflict between Persian and Sanskrit and the small number of students offering Sanskrit was due entirely to the apathy towards that subject of the people of the United Provinces, West of Benares, who had come directly under the influence of Lucknow and Delhi and had therefore, imbibed more of the culture embodied in Persian than that represented by Sanskrit. One of the artificial methods adopted before my arrival for equalising Sanskrit and Persian was the adding of for some Arabic to the Persian course which came to be styled "Persian with Arabic". This was never liked by our Muslim friends. For sometime they found the opinion too strong for themselves; but later on the Late Moulvi Karamat Husain asked my opinion about it and I explained to him that to my mind there did not appear to be any conflict between Persian and Sanskrit and hence even if Persian were made easier by the dropping of the little Arabic that was there it would not have any effect upon the number of students offering Sanskrit. After this he moved in the Senate that this Arabic should be removed from the Persian course. A Committee was appointed to examine the proposal of which Sir George Knox and myself among others were members. I supported the proposal. This Committee recommended the change which was duly effected. My position in the University went on improving and within a few years I was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, the first Indian to be thus honoured. It was some years before this that I was elected to the Syndicate, on the retirement of Pandit Aditya Ram from the University.

During several years I had to change my residence on account of plague-rats so atlast I decided in 1909 to build my own house. A suitable opportunity presented itself. Sir James Latouche had appoined a Committee consisting of Pandit Sundar Lal, Lala Ram Charan Dass and Malaviyaji with the Collector Mr. Hopkins to find out suitable sites for the extension of the Civil Lines, on account of the fact that many people now desired to live outside the city. This committee went round and fixed upon two extensive sites. One to the East of the Government House and another somewhere towards the High Court. I seized this opportunity and along with Abhaya Babu, Satish Babu and Dr. Sirkar saw the Collector and

requested him to help us in securing suitable building sites for us. He promised us his full help. After sometime these sites were divided into suitable plots and advertised. The Collector held an auction in the Mayo Hall where we were asked to attend and bid for the sites we selected for ourselves. All of us along with several lawyer-friends, who also wanted to build houses, had inspected the plots on the previous evening and made our own selections and decided not to bid against one another. When we went to the Mayo Hall the Collector told us that he had fixed the minimum of the premium to be paid at Rs. 375/- per acre.

We expostulated that no such restriction had been mentioned in the advertisement and he should therefore permit it to be an open bidding. He explained to us that the entire site which consisted of more than hundered acres had only one road running through the middle of it and hence several roads would have to be made and water-pipes laid over the whole area, all for the conveniences of the would be residents and that the estimated cost of all these amenities was Rs. 40,000. We saw the justice of this explanation and agreed to the minimum. When it came to the bidding each one of us stood up and bid for the plot that had been selected previously. No one else made any bid for it, so ultimately each one of us got the plot at the rate of Rs. 375 per acre. Possession of the plot was given to us on the Ist Jan. 1910 and I at once commenced the building operations and the work was so expeditiously done that before we dispersed for the vacation in April we had moved into the house. There was a slight hitch due to the technical stand taken by the Municipality in regard to its formal sanction of the house-plan. Having found that all the transactions in connection with this extension scheme were being carried on by the Collecter, I got my plan approved by the Collector who told me to proceed with the building. When the building had half progressed the Municipal Chairman stepped in and asked me why I was building the house without the sanction of the Municipality and why the building so far erected should not be dismantled. I wrote out an explanation and got it approved by Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru who warned me that legally the position taken up by the Municipality was quite correct. I saw the Collector and showed to him the draft of my reply and requested him to help me out of the entanglement.

He assured me that my explanation was entirely satisfactory and that if the Municipality did take the extreme step of dismantling the house he would

under a certain section of the law step in and prevent that action. After this I sent up my explanation to the Municipality and ultimately they were satisfied and I was asked to have the plan approved by the Vice-Chairman who at that time happened to be our old friend B. Charu Chandra Mitter. He came and saw the building operations and reported himself satisfied so the work proceeded.

It was on the morning of this New Year's day that I got a telegramme from my friend Raja Kirtyanand Singh who was at Calcutta congratulating me on the title conferred upon me by Government without mentioning what title it was. I wrote to my friend Pt. Ram Charan Shukul of colonelganj who at that time was on the staff of the *Pioneer* and who I thought must have received the telegramme announcing the New Year's Honours and asked him what title had been conferred upon myself. My eldest brother B. Vindhya Nath happened to be here.. In fact, ever since I came away from Darbhanga he always came to me during these short holidays. He atonce decided to invite my most intimate friends to a dinner.

For the *Gṛha-Praveśa* into the new house I invited my friend B. Govind Dasa who came and we had the *'praveśa'* in due time, to which I had also invited my respected friend B. Baleshwar Prasad, whom I had known since my college days as the friend of Govind Dasa's father. I always entertained a great regard for this gentleman and he remained very kind to me till his death, which occured after I had been transferred to Benares.

On the 24th of April we transferred all our belongings to the new house and went home for the vacation.

In connection with the title it may be mentioned that I had made no efforts. Once only while Dr. Venis happened to officiate as D. P. I., I wrote to him pointing out how badly I had been treated by De La Fosse in the matter of grade-promotion. With characteristic vagueness and brevity Dr. Venis had sent the reply "your interests will not suffer at my hands upon any point," and later events assured me that it was on his recommendation that I got the title. Curiously enough several years after this De La Fosse who had returned from leave told me one day that he was going to send my name for the title, but he was told that I had already got it and he asked when I had got it. I told him with some sort of concealed chuckle that it was while he was on leave, when Dr. Venis officiated for him.

In 1911 Mr. Butler, who had become by now member for Education in the Goverment of India, convened a conference of Orientalists at Simla. I was also invited to it; so also were Dr. Thibaut, Dr. Venis, Sir Ram Krishna Bhandarkar, his son Sridhar Bhandarkar, Pt. Har Prasad Shastri, Dr. Woolner, Moulvi Shibli, Moulvi Kamaluddin, Mr. Ispahan, Dr. Denison Ross, Sarat Chandra Dasa the Tibetan scholar, a gentleman from Burma-side representing the Ecole Francais and perhaps one or two others. The conference lasted for three days. We met in one of the rooms of the Government of India Secretariat, Gortom Castle. I lived in a hotel in the middle bazar called Mathura Dasa's Hindu hotel. Amaranatha was with me. The accommodation was not comfortable, but as I had never before been to Simla we had to depend upon the arrangements made by a shawl merchant of Delhi Mr. Balak Ram by name who was personally known to my eldest brother. We enjoyed our stay there, however, and the meetings of conference also were entirely successful. It was as a result of the unanimous recommendation of this conference that the Government of India decided to give a special fillip to the older indigenous scholarship in Sanskrit as also in Arabic and Persian and the decision having been conveyed to the Provincial Governments along with sufficient grants of money, these latter launched forthwith the schemes as a result of which we have had the tremendous expansion in the U. P. and also in Bihar of the indigenous system. But we committed the great mistake of linking the whole scheme with the examinations that were held by the Government under the Benares Sanskrit College and the inevitable result has been that the Sanskrit Vidyarthi also of the Pathashalas has become a replica of the students at the English College and has learnt only to pass as many examinations as he can and in as many subjects during the time at his disposal. As a result of this, the deep scholarship of the old Pandits had all but disappeared. This scholarship was the result of the sustained and slow study of a standard book of a certain subject spread over a number of years, the teacher and pupil sitting together and discussing every word and sentence with its implications and ramifications. The period devoted to this study depended upon the capacity of the student and also his circumstances. But normally four to six years were ample, followed of course by the life-long study and teaching of the subject. Nor did this system produce the lopsided scholarship that might be supposed to be the result of such concentrated study. The reason for this lay in the fact that the training involved in the above men-

tioned course of study made the mind and brain such an efficient instrument that the man became able to deal intelligently with all subjects that were allied to the one to the study of which he had devoted his four years. So that if the man had studied Nyāya he was able to carry on by himself the study of any other system of Philosophy. This concentrated work had to make room for the expansive and superficial work and the man became bent upon passing examination and securing degrees. When it is too late now we have realised with somewhat like a shock that even in the home of intensive scholarship like Kashi, Mithila and Nadia, the deeply read scholar of whom there were large numbers 50 years ago, have practically disappeared and pandits who could be compared to these giants even remotely be counted now on the fingers of one hand. It has to be deplored; though it may be confessed that the examination system has given an impetus under which a very much larger number of pupils are studying Sanskrit in the Pathashalas now than in the past. So that while the knowledge of Sanskrit has lost intensity and depth it has gained in extensiveness and diffusion. It is sad to contemplate that the tendency in the present Governmental circles is to further modernise the Pandit; the effect of this will be disastrous. Modern scholarship is very diffuse and extensive, and therefore, superficial. The pandit trained in the pathashalas can never successfully compete with the students trained in the English schools, and colleges on these points. And the net result will be that the number of students with a smattering of Sanskrit and of certain modern subjects like History, Geography, Politics and Civics will only go to swell the number of the "Educated unemployed."

The only way to preserve the old type of pandit scholarship is to institute a number of Post-Acharya Scholarships at two or three important Pathashalas at Benares which may have on their staff some pandits of the old type. This pandit should be entirely relieved of all teaching connected with the examinations and should be asked to concentrate wholly upon the new scholars selected from among those who have passed the highest Sanskrit examination. The best place to carry on this work would now be the Hindu University, now that the Government Sanskrit College has fallen off from its old pre-eminent position. These scholarships should be of not less than Rs.30/-a month in order to prevent the scholar running away to some post of teachership somewhere. The scholarship should continue in the

first instance for 3 years, being continued for another term of three years, if the work is found to be specially satisfactory.

The teacher and the scholar should be specially warned that their sole duty was to concentrate upon the old type of teaching and learning and that they should have nothing to do with any examination. Their work should be carefully watched by the Principal of the Institution and even by the Vice-Chancellor of the University if he happened to be a Sanskritist who is in sympathy with and an admirer of the old type of pandit. I would insist upon this supervision and concentration because I tried this experiment at the Government College while I was Principal during 5 years from 1918 to 23. The Government very kindly accepted my proposal of granting 6 scholarships of Rs. 20/- each year, so that in 3 years time we had 18 scholars working on this line. We had one or two Pandits who were perfectly efficient for this work but I committed to wean them away entirely from the work of teaching for the examinations and the result was that they devoted all their time and energy to this latter kind of work which naturally brought them a larger number of pupils, so that when a post-Acharya scholar went to them the work was very perfunctorily done and the inevitable result was that I did not succeed in training even a single student who would take the place of the dying race of old pandits, though I myself presided at the annual oral examinations which I held for each scholar in order to find out if he deserved to have his scholarship continued. I could not get over the effect of the apathy of the teacher. I would, therefore, insist upon the teacher being warned as above.

At the above conference at Simla Mr. Butler got through a scheme for the establishment of an Oriental Institute in India either at Delhi or at Calcutta. All the details were worked out and the proposal was accepted by the Government of India and was sent up to the Secretary of State. At this stage, however, powerful intrigues set in. At the conference one of the prominent member was Sir Denison Ross, the Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa, which was the counterpart of the Government Sanskrit College at Calcutta. He was an ambitious person and was at that time not quite senior and had not acquired quite high reputation. During the sitting of the conference he was quick enough to understand that the man chosen for the headship of the proposed institute would be Dr. Thibaut or Dr. Venis and not himself. He, therefore, went up to London and inspite of the strong advo-

cacy of Sir Harcourt Butler he got the proposal of the Govt. of India turned down and ultimately the proposed institution for Oriental Studies was founded not in New Delhi or Calcutta, but at London under the name of the "School of Oriental Studies", and of this school Denison Ross became the head and perhaps still continues to be so. From Mr. Butler downwards every one was so sure of the scheme getting through that both Butler and Venis asked me if I would be satisfied with a subordinate position at the Institute. I said that I would consider it a privilege to be attached to the institution in any capacity.

Once about this time there came out a Public Service Commission; of this the Chairman was Lord Islington and the members Lord Ronaldshay, now Marquis Zetland, an old Madras civilian Sir Murray Hamick, Ramsay Macdonald subsequently the Prime Minister of England, Abdul Rahim, now President of the Indian Assembly, Mr. Chaubal of Bombay, Mr. Gokhle, Sir Theodore Morrison and perhaps one or two others were members. The members of the Imperial and Provincial services working in the Provinces were asked to elect a representative each from among themselves to give evidence before the Commission. From the U. P. Mr. Jennings was elected by the I. E. S. officers, and Mr. Gyanendra Nath Chakravarty and myself were elected by the Provincial Educational Services; Chakravarty representing the administrative side and I representing the teaching side. Umesh Chandra Ghosh was also elected along with myself, but somehow he was unable to go. I went up to Delhi for this and was accompanied by my eldest son Bhavanath. Not knowing any one at Delhi my lodging at Delhi was arranged by Radha Charan, the third brother of B. Govind Dasa, through a relation of his, resident in Mahalla Dharampur in the city of Delhi. This gentleman lodged us in a fine little double-storied house just opposite the Jumma Masjid. This Commission was sitting in the old Secretariat in the hall where the Imperial Council sat at the time and where the first Assembly also sat later on, before the magnificent houses were built in New Delhi. I went over to the place and met the Secretary of the Commission, Mr. Butler the younger brother of our friend Sir Harcourt Butler, who later on became the Governor of Central Provinces and of the Isle of man as Sir Montagu Butler. He explained to me the whole procedure and programme of the Commission and told me that I could sit in the hall and watch the proceedings of the first day, though my own evidence would perhaps be taken on the following day. I was wandering

about in the portico and watched the members coming in. When Mr. Gokhle and Mr. Chaubal came round in a Tanga, I met them. I may mention here that Mr. Chakravarty told me that at the hotel on the preceding night Gokhle had asked him about me and wanted to know if I had come prepared to say all that I wanted to say; Chakravarty said 'yes' because he knew that I had obtained the permission of the D. P. I, to state all the facts as known to me and he had told me that if I did not do this I would be betraying the trust that my colleagues in service had reposed in me when electing me as their representative. He also sent to me all the official papers relating to the Provincial Service. Perhaps he little knew that these papers contained an official letter sent by the D. P. I. in answer to the Government's question as to who among the Provincial Service-men deserved promotion to the Indian Educational Service; and the answer given by the D. P. I. was that no one deserved it. Mr. Gokhle asked me if I was Dr. Ganga Nath Jha from Allahabad. He then entered the Chamber and I also sat behind him and watched the proceedings which commenced with the evidence of Mr. (Later Sir Henry) Sharp, Secretary in the Education Department of the Government of India. This first evidence took up all the time before lunch. This evidence also gave me an inkling into the methods of these high officials. It was clear from Sharp's evidence that either he did not know the facts or that he intentionally concealed and distorted them and on one important point I felt constrained in my evidence to emphatically deny an assertion that he had made regarding the work done by professors in the Provincial Service. He had said that these men only did the teaching of the lower classes, i. e. the Intermediate classes in colleges and all the higher classes were taught by the Indian Service men, while he ought to have known that in several colleges, at least at the Muir Central College, there were several Provincial Service men who taught the highest classes. The afternoon was taken up by the evidence of Mr. Chakravarty and I was asked to come the next day.

When my examination began I started by saying that there was no difference in the character of the work done by the Indian Service and the Provincial Service men. Thereupon the Chairman told me that the Commission had been told (evidently a reference to Mr. Sharp's evidence) that while the Indian Service men taught the higher classes the Provincial Service men dealt with the lower classes. How was that to be reconciled with what I had said ? I told him that I did not know what the Commission had been told

but I knew that it was an undeniable fact that it was not so, at even the Muir College itself there were several Provincial Service men who were teaching the higher classes also. After that other members of the Commission began to question me one by one. When Gokhle's turn came he put a large number of questions, calculated to bring out the facts relating to the Provincial Service. He asked me also about all the literary work that I had done and the recognition that I had received even from Government in the shape of the title. In course of this examination I was also asked about the literary works of the Indian Service men. I said that I did not know any very important work done by them after Dr. Thibaut and Venis. Mr. Sharp also had been able to mention only the work of Sir Edwin Arnold, who belonged to the Indian Service. Then it came to the turn of Abdul Rahim. He asked me if there was any justification in giving a lower salary to Indians than that to Europeans on account of the higher standard of living of the latter. I said there was no such justification because while it was true that a European spent more on his personal requirements, the Indians had to spend much more on the needs of their relatives and dependents. Ramsay Macdonald also asked me how the work at the college was distributed. I gave him full details as regards the Muir College. The last member to examine was Hamick, an old civilian from Madras. He asked me if it was not fair that the Europeans who came all this long distance from home should demand a higher salary ? I told him that of course there was nothing wrong with the employee wanting a higher salary but it was certainly wrong for the employer to give a higher salary under the circumstances specially when the nature of the work done was exactly the same. I also asked him if the Englishman serving in Australia got a higher salary than the Australians doing the same work ? He felt irritated and said he was not going to put any more questions. When I came back to my seat which was just behind Mr. Gokhle's, Gokhle turned round towards me and congratulated me on the excellent way in which I had given my evidence. On one point I think I gave a better answer than Mr. Chakravarty had given. He had been asked if there was any justification for giving the subordinate service men a lower salary than the Provincial Service. He had said, 'yes'. When the same question was put to me, however, I said 'no' because the men who were in that service at the time had the same qualifications as ourselves and were doing the same work. I left Delhi by the Evening Express and came to Allahabad next day.

During August, 1913, I was invited by the Bihar Government to a Representative Committee to draft a scheme for purely Sanskritic Studies, in the Province, and also for establishment of the Patna University. Dr. Thibaut was a member of this Committee and its Chairman was Mr. Rober Nathan. We met for several days and drew up very elaborate schemes. Our Sanskritic proposals were adopted; but the University scheme proved too ambitious for the new Province and a very much attenuated university of the ordinary affiliating type was established at Patna.

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5. CENTRAL HINDU COLLEGE AND THE BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

While we were still at college in 1890 the idea was mooted within our circle, of starting a cheaper college nearer to the city than the Queen's College. This idea gradually developed in people's minds and on the arrival of Mrs. Besant at Benares and her decision to make Benares her headquarters quickly led to the founding of the Central Hindu College. In the earlier stages some of the teachers were purely honorary, even though one or two, who were paid, were paid a mere subsistence allowance. Mrs. Besant was the President of the Managing Committee, B. Upendra Nath Basu the Vice-President and B. Bhagwan Dasa the Secretary. So enthusiastic was everyone that Bhagwan Dasa actually resigned from the Deputy Collectorship that he was holding at that time. They wanted me also to join the teaching staff. Govind Dasa actually went over to Darbhanga to request the Maharaja to permit me to go. The Maharaja, however, refused telling him frankly that he had specially educated me and wanted me for his own Raj. Thus though I did not actually join the staff I was very intimately connected with the management. Having become a somewhat prominent member of the Theosophical Society since the transference of the headquarters to Benares I was very intimately connected with every thing that went on in the Theosophical Society and in the Central Hindu College. When Pandit Aditya Ram retired from the Muir College and I came to Allahabad they appointed him the Rector of the College and when I saw Mrs. Besant about this time and we saw Pt. Aditya Ram approaching, she said to me, "there is a prophecy for you", meaning that I was also going to be the Rector of the college on my retirement.

In the earlier stages of the college the partisans of the Queen's College were hostile to it. They thought, and very rightly, that if the Hindu College succeeded, the Queen's College would suffer, and it did suffer because even the number of students in our college were increasing by leaps and bounds, the same at Queen's remained very small and in a short time the numbers of the Hindu college were larger than those at the Queen's. On account of this rivalry, difficulties began to be thrown in the way of the college by obstructing its affiliation to the University. In course of time, however, the

moral support behind the college and the amount of financial assistance brought over by Mrs. Besant through collections made all over the world through the Theosophical Society proved too strong for the opposition and the college became duly affiliated at first up to the Intermediate and then up to the B. A. and M. A. standards. It has already been stated that Dr. Thibaut had warned me against being over zealous in supporting the Hindu College but this did not deter me from supporting the case for the college whenever it turned up before the University Senate and on several occasions I voted for it as against other institutions, barring of course the Muir College to which I felt bound. A few years later when the Hindu University was being formed and the Hindu College was going to be handed over to form the nucleus for the Hindu University there was a proposal made by the Central Hindu College Committee that I should be appointed Principal. Pt. Sundar Lall, however, felt that my interests would suffer if I were transferred at this stage from Government service, so the proposal fell through though it had received the strong support of Mrs. Besant who even wrote to the press, that the Hindu College had found "an excellent Principal" in myself. I had to write to the press to say that though the Committee had wished to have me, I had not agreed to go.

My hesitation was due not only to the considerations of my prospects in Government service but also to the lukewarmness with which I was looked upon by Malaviyaji and Pt. Aditya Ram. This want of confidence on the part of Malaviyaji has been one of the unfortunate factors in my life, which has been expressed more than once. He had always suspected that I was a 'Government man'; though one fails to see why this fact should be considered undesirable in a Government servant so long as a man remains in Government service. I feel it is his duty to carry out the orders of Government, and if his conscience rebels against any such orders he should send in his resignation from service before actually disobeying the orders. However, the fact was there, that so long as Pt. Sundar Lall lived I worked my level best for the Hindu College and the Hindu University devoting several hours and even entire days without food to the work. The meetings of the University Bodies in the earlier days were strenuous and concentrated on account of the busy life of the Vice-Chancellor, Pt. Sundar Lall. I had been put on the Committee appointed to draft the

regulation of the University and discuss them with the Government of India. The entire course of studies for the various examinations, I alone drew up on the basis of the Allahabad University courses and the Committee consisting of Pt. Sundar Lall, Pt. Aditya Ram, Malaviyaji, Bhagwan Dasa and myself went through the draft during several days and sent it to the Government of India. On one point alone there was a slight difference of opinion between Pt. Sundar Lall and Bhagwan Dasa on the one side and Aditya Ramji and myself on the other. Malaviyaji remained neutral. Sir Guru Das Banerji had very strongly put forward the proposal that in order to secure a distinctive mark for the Hindu University Graduate, Sanskrit should be a compulsory subject for all students staying at the University. We carried this point after some discussion and Pt. Sundar Lall and Bhagwan Dasa and Malaviyaji also agreed to it ultimately. During the following summer we went up to Simla to discuss these regulations with the Government of India. The Maharaja of Darbhanga also joined the Committee at Simla.

On this trip to Simla I was accompanied by Bhavanath. We had very good lodging at 'Shanti-Kuti' which was just then being built up by its founder—Swami Vishveshvaranand, who lived on the premises. Malaviyaji and Pt. Aditya Ram were also living at the same house and so was (also) Bhagwan Dasa. We spent a very happy week specially as the house was situated on a peak whose outer side was away from the view of Simla proper. We had our meetings at the Gorton Castle which housed the Government of India Secretariat. The meeting was presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. Claude Hill who was officiating for Mr. Butler as the member for Education. The Secretary of the Committee was Mr. Sharp, the Secretary to the Government of India. We used to go to the meeting at 10 and worked steadily till after 1, after which we had the whole day to ourselves. Working in this way we got through the business in about a week or 10 days after which I returned to Allahabad.

Before I began to work actively on Committees connected with the Hindu University I had asked Pandit Sundar Lall's advice for the permission of Government to do so. The permission was given to me, but the curious condition was attached to the effect that I should not express any

opinion on matters relating to the policy of Government. I did not quite understand this stipulation; nor did Mr. Hill when I told him of it in course of the meetings, when on one occasion I felt that the said stipulation might have had some connection with the matter that we were considering at the time. Everyone laughed when I spoke of the said condition under which I was working. But Pt. Sundar Lall told me after the meeting that I had done the right thing in saying that I did. The particular matter curiously enough was the question of age-limit, on which point my predecessor Pt. Aditya Ram had incurred the displeasure of Government several years ago. We were all opposed to this age-limit being imposed. But on account of the insistence of Government I felt tied to it so long as I remained a Government servant.

In connection with this question of age-limit the situation was somewhat curious. While as a rule boys at Indian schools could not go up for the Matriculation or School Leaving examination before completing the age of 16 (my own two elder boys had to be kept back for two or three years), boys at European schools could safely take the Cambridge and other examinations without any age-restriction. In order to expose the absurdity of the situation and with the rather perverse motive of denying to the boys of European schools what to my mind was an advantage over the boys in Indian schools, I brought forward before the University proposals for extending this agelimit to the Intermediate, B. A. and M. A. examinations also, so that so far as higher education was concerned students of all classes would be brought to the same level; though some European Members of the University including the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Henry Richards, Chief Justice, understood the motive behind my proposal and seemed to dislike it, they could not reasonably oppose it and it went through without opposition.

The meetings of the Committee at Simla was cordial enough except on one point (I forget exactly what it was). The Government of India had finally decided the matter and Mr. Hill told us that it was not open to any re-consideration or discussion, and yet Malaviyaji pressed the point and there was some unpleasantness,. But the next morning Pt. Sundar Lall succeeded in pacifying the two parties and we proceeded in peace.

I continued to be intersted in and worked for the Hindu Universitv

till the death of Pt. Sundar Lall after which I found the atmosphere too unpleasant for myself, because mainly, in whatever proposal I made, it was always suspected by people that I had some personal motive in it. For instance when I insisted upon the salary of the Professor of Sanskrit being exactly the same as that of the professors in other subjects, curiously enough this was opposed even by persons who under circumstances would have supported the proposal strongly but they were led away by their suspicion regarding my motives and I had to write formally to Pt. Sundar Lall, the then Vice-Chancellor, to say that I had no intention what so-ever of taking up any paid work in the Hindu University. My proposal was after this carried without opposition.

Several times even in the earliest stages Malaviyaji used to put forward his proposals for the establishment of the Engineering Faculty. The budget of the University however, framed on the basis of the two Faculties of Arts and Science was just balanced at a figure which was, I suppose, a little over 4 lacs, and Pt. Sundar Lall always turned down proposals for additional expenditure unless there was additional income. On this basis, therefore, work at the University commenced in the old Hindu College buildings; and the foundation for the new building was laid by Lord Hardinge at the present site some time later, after a lot of discussion, because there was a strong body of opinion, which I also shared, that limited as our funds were, it was not wise to embark upon a big programme of expenditure over acquiring new sites and setting up new buildings for colleges and hostels. It was considered much wiser to carry on the University in the old Hindu College buildings and when expansion came it would be carried on at the same site, where we were confident the Maharaja of Benares would gladly give more lands. But the lure of the new site on the river side with the possibility of infinite expansion proved too much and a new site was acquired for several lacs of rupees and building operations commenced in right harnest. Before, however, University work could be carried on at the old site during the time taken by building operations at the new site the Government of India insisted that the Central Hindu School should be removed to a separate site and incredible as it might seem a new building towards the west of the Hindu College was built at the cost of nearly Rs. 50,000/-, and all merely for the purpose of housing the school classes for a

few months. I do not know what became of this temporary building; but when the University classes moved into the new premises on the present site the Central Hindu School classes came back to the old premises where they continue to be till now, under the separate committee of management, appointed by Hindu University; the funds, however, being provided by the Hindu University for this school and also, so far as I remember, for the corresponding Girls' School which had also been founded by Mrs. Besant within the precincts of the Theosophical headquarters.

Pt. Sundar Lall died somewhat suddenly in 1916 or 1917, and was succeeded in the Vice-Chancellorship by Sir P. S. Siva Swami Ayer of Madras. This gentleman, however, soon found that the real power at the Hindu University was Malaviyaji whom he could not keep in check, in the way in which Pt. Sundar Lall had succeeded in doing, and this for obvious reasons. When Sir Siva Swami saw this and when Malaviyaji, after Sundar Lall's check had been removed, carried through his proposal for the Engineering College and other ambitious schemes, then Sir Siva Swami gave up the work and after some delay, no suitable person having been found, (who could be the Vice-Chancellor and yet agree to say 'yes' to all that Malaviyaji proposed ?). Malaviyaji had to take up the work himself.

This was exactly what I had been suggesting to Malaviyaji ever since Pt. Sundar Lall's death. I told him frankly one day that it was he who had secured crores of rupees from people for certain definite purposes; it was his duty, therefore, to devote all his time and energy to the fulfilment of those purposes. I also told him that this work was so immense that it would absorb all his energy and time; and as there was no other person who could wield the same amount of influence as himself, it was his duty to remain on the spot for all time; and I pointed out to him that at that early stage he should now, in order to devote himself entirely to University-work, give up his political work; especially as in Congress circles he no longer had the same influence that he used to have. He agreed with me but the life long lure of political work he could not renounce, and the result was that his work has suffered in the educational as well as political sphere; and in the bargain, his health has been ruined.

Not being satisfied with the way in which the work was being rushed at the Hindu University, since the death of Pt. Sundar Lall, and specially after the resignation of Sir P. S. Siva Swami Iyer, I began to withdraw gradually from active participation in the working of the University; and curiously this synchronised with my transfer to Benares. I continued to attend the meetings at the University, but not very regularly and gradually I withdrew entirely.

Sometime between 1915 and 16 Dr. Venis retired from the Principalship of the Queen's College and the Government Sanskrit College. The two posts had been combined practically ever since the foundation of the two colleges. The first Principal was Dr. Ballantyne, then Mr. Griffith, and Dr. Thibaut. It was only after the transfer of Dr. Thibaut to Allahabad that difficulties arose, because Mr. Wright who had been transferred from the Muir College to Benares in place of Dr. Thibaut did not know Sanskrit at all. So a seperate Principal for the Sanskrit College had to be appointed. Dr. Venis was appointed to this, in addition to his own duties as Professor of English in the Queen's College. This arrangement continued for some years when, on the retirement of Mr. Wright, the two offices were again combined in the office of Dr. Venis. About the time that Dr. Venis was to retire, we had the conference of Orientalists at Simla already described above. As a result of the recommendations of that conference the U. P. Government with the help of liberal grants from the Government of India launched a wide scheme for the improvement of Sanskritic study on the old lines. In pursuance of this scheme a post was created in the Provincial Educational Service with the title of 'Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies'. There was already an Inspector of Sanskrit under the Department, whose function consisted in looking after the teaching of Sanskrit in the High Schools of the Province. When Dr. Venis felt his time of retirement approaching, he wished to remain in the country and also in service somehow. Therefore, when this post of the Superintendent was created he naturally felt that the work would be suitable for himself; but as the post then constituted was under the cadre of the Provincial Service his appointment to it could not be regular. There were only two persons in the Province at the time who might have been considered fit for the post. These were myself and Dr. Laddu who had returned from Europe where he had gone with a Govt.

of India scholarship. He had, however, put himself out of court by his publicly expressed opinion against the older type of pandits as these were the pandits with whom the new officer would have to come into contact. Dr. Venis asked me if the post would suit me. After long consideration I decided that it would not, mainly because the main duty of the officer would consist in touring throughout the province. Having thus got us out of the way Dr. Venis proposed and got accepted by Government an altered scheme under which there was to be an Inspector of Sanskrit Pathashalas in the Provincial Service and over him a Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies with a fixed salary of Rs. 500/- outside the ordinary cadre of the Provincial Service, but open to the members of that service. With this post was combined the Principalship of the Sanskrit College also, and to this combined post Dr. Venis got himself appointed. All this was done through the kindness of Sir James Meston, Governor of the Province who had a great regard for Dr. Venis.

Before retiring from service and entering upon his new duties, however, Dr. Venis went out to England for some months. And about this same time to the post in the Indian Educational Service was appointed one Mr. Turner who was a Sanskritist; and everyone understood that he would ultimately succeed Dr. Venis in the Principalship of the Sanskrit College. For the Queen's College a separate principal had been appointed and this was Mr. Burrell who, subsequently on the dismemberment of the Queen's College, was sent on deputation to the newly organised Allahabad University.

While Dr. Venis was still in England a newspaper somehow got an inkling into the scheme that Dr. Venis had proposed. And in its Editorial columns there appeared a short paragraph commenting adversely on the scheme. It was pointed out in this paragraph that the arrangements proposed would be very unfair to the members of the Provincial Service some of whom were eminently fit for the post vacated by Dr. Venis at the Sanskrit College. I at once went over to the Director Mr. De La Fosse and told him of the newspaper paragraph and said that people would naturally suspect Dr. Laddu and myself and more specially myself, as the senior of the two. He said 'yes' and frankly told me that that was his own suspicion.

I strongly repudiated the suggestion and told him that if it had been anyone else, for instance, the newly arrived Mr. Turner, I would certainly have felt aggrieved at the proposed arrangement; but as it was Dr. Venis, instead of being aggrieved I was delighted at the prospect of continuing to have him among ourselves. He, of course with his opinion of myself, did not seem quite to understand my feelings. I then wrote a letter to Dr. Venis and also saw Mr. Burn who was at the time the Chief Secretary to Government. He was a great friend of Dr. Venis and also of myself and knew also of the relations between Dr. Venis and myself. He atonce understood my position and assured me that neither Dr. Venis nor Government would ever suspect me of having instigated the paragraph.

When Dr. Venis returned from leave there were several farewell functions at the Queen's College. One was on behalf of the 'old boys' at which Raja Madho Lal was the Chairman and I read the Address. On retirement Dr. Venis took up his new duties and had his quarters in the newly built library called *'Saraswati-Bhawan'*.

6. UNIVERSITY PROFESSORSHIPS, JEVONS, RUSHBROOK-WILLIAMS AND VENIS

It was about this time that the Government of India gave money to the Allahabad University for the founding of two Professorships, one in Economics, and the other in Modern Indian History. The Professors appointed were Prof. Jevons, the son of the great logician and Economist and Rushbrook-Williams for Modern Indian History. We have had very sad experiences of these Professors imported in the past. They drew fat salaries but remained absolutely idle so far as research-work was concerned. In the Syndicate, therefore, when the rules regarding the work of these Professors were being discussed I insisted upon and carried through the rule that in addition to the teaching of post-graduate scholars, these Professors must deliver at least six lectures in the year embodying the results of their own researches. These two Professors proceeded with their work until Rushbrook-Williams with his ambitions running high got himself transferred to the Government of India where he was appointed to a newly created post relating to the Bureau of Information, from where again he went away as Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Patiala. Professor Jevons proved steadier and he felt constrained to leave us only when, on the reorganisation of the University in 1922, De La Fosse the Vice-Chancellor made his position impossible. Thereupon he went over to the Rangoon University as Professor of Economics. To the Chair of Modern History the University appointed Dr. Shaffat Ahmad Khan of whom no body knew anything at the time, though at least one among the applicants was the great Indian Historian, Jadu Nath Sircar.

In continuation of this same scheme of Professorships independently of the Government colleges, the Government also supplied to the University funds for the creation of a Professorship of Post-Vedic Culture and the curious condition was attached that it should be offered to Dr. Venis. This sort of endowment appears to have been in vogue during those days, for I remember that when the late Maharaja of Kashimbazar endowed at the Hindu University the chair of Ancient Indian History he made it a

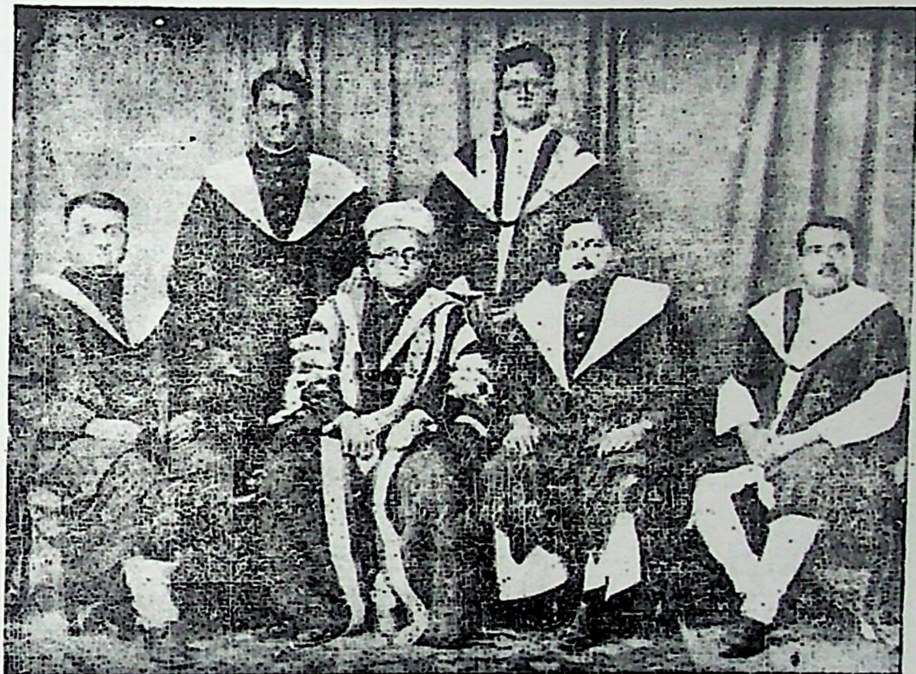
condition that the first incumbent should be Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji. The result of all this was that on his retirement on full I. E. S. pension Dr. Venis became (1) the Superintendent of Sanskrit studies, the Principal of the Sanskrit College and the Registrar of the Sanskrit College examinations; his salary for all these being Rs. 500/- with free residential quarters and (2) the University Professor of Post-Vedic Culture on a salary of more than Rs. 1000/- Perhaps Rs. 1500/- (I forget the exact figure) ; so that while in service he got Rs. 1700/- or Rs. 1800/- per month, after retirement he got more than Rs. 2500/- and on top of all this he accepted all this on condition that he was permitted to spend all the summer months, not only the summer vacation of the colleges, at Naini Tal. At the University his lectures were a failure and with all my reverence and regard for him I cannot help feeling that this was due entirely to his innate laziness, on account of which he never wrote out a single one of the six lectures that he had to deliver during the year. In fact he actually wrote out and delivered only one lecture, Introductory to the series of lectures on the *Mahābhārata*; which as I had suggested to him, afforded room for important research; but this one was the first and the last of his lectures on the *Mahābhārata*. When he came to deliver his second lecture he read out to us only extracts from the notes that he had drawn up in course of his life-long study of Indian Philosophy, with the late Pt. Ganga Dhar Shastri. After this lecture the only audience that he had was one or two of my students at the Muir College and myself who, I confess, attended only, because of my great regard for him. He could not proceed with this sort of work for more than a year and during the coming hot weather he was attacked by some sort of cancer in the mouth which led to his death at Naini Tal and after summer vacation I was transferred to Benares to all the posts except the Professorship at the University that had been held by Dr. Venis; of course his emoluments did not come to me.

Before I left Allahabad I met the Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler and it was from him that I had the confirmation of the rumour regarding my transfer to Benares in order to provide me with more time to carry on my researches. After the orders arrived the whole Muir College teachers and students alike, gave me a most touching farewell and at the meeting Mr. Archbold, who had by now come as the permanent Principal, during his

speech, went so far as to say that when his friends heard of his transfer to the Muir College, they congratulated him on the prospect of having me as a colleague. Of course, as usual, all this was extravagant praise; but there is no doubt that there was genuine feeling behind it. At night the staff gave a dinner in the Library of the College and next morning I handed over charge to the Principal as they had not been able to fix upon my successor. At the Prayag station where we got into the train there was a large gathering of students and some teachers on the platform though it was raining very hard at that time. I reached Benares in the afternoon and the first person to welcome me was my friend Govind Dasa who was followed after sometime by a deputation of Maithils led by the late Murli Dhar Jha.

Three or four day before this my wife and myself had gone over to Benares to find a suitable residence. We could not find a suitable house because we did not like to live in the city and as for garden houses, these at Benares (at least till that time) had never been intended to serve as residences. They were used only for picnics and other entertainments. We, however; decided to take up a garden-house in Maldahia belonging to Mr. Shivapuri. I knew this house as it used to be the residence of my friend Pt. Raj Nath Saheb when he was Munsif at Benares. On our arrival at Benares, therefore, we moved into this house and took over charge at the Saraswati Bhawan Library from Pt. Thakur Prasad Acharya who had been acting since Dr. Venis' death. Bhavanatha was by this time studying Medicine at Lucknow and Amaranatha who was on the Muir College staff had to be left at Allahabad. So I had only the younger children with me.

The next morning I met all the Pandits of the college assembled in the hall. They were all more or less my personal friends and as such they rejoiced at my coming. Pt. Ram Shastri Tailang remarked that while politicians were still hankering after Swaraj they at the College had actually got



Dr. Ganganatha Jha with his Sons

it when I became Principal. It was sad, however, to contemplate that of all the renowned pandits who had held my mind in glamour ever since my boyhood, there was only one left at the college when I joined, this was Mahamahopadhyaya Ram Krishna Shastri, better known as Tatya Shastri. He was one of the famous quartet consisting of Shiva Kumar Mishra, Damodar Shastri, Ganga Dhar Shastri and Tatya Shastri; all of course Mahamahopadhyayas.

I took up my duties seriously and began to organise the work into some sort of regularity out of the partriarchal ways in which things were done at the college ever since its foundation at the end of the 18th century. I formulated definite regulations for the examinations as also for the inspection of the Sanskrit Pathashalas throughout the province for which work Pt. Kashi Ram had been just appointed.

We were thus a happy family. The only rift in the lute, however, was provided by the Director of Public Instruction.

Dr. Venis had been provided with quarters in the newly built Saraswati-Bhawan Library; but when I wrote for the continuance of the same privilege to myself I was told that the building was never meant to be a residence. I pointed out, however, that the fact that it was provided with a regular kitchen and other residential appurtenances showed clearly that the rooms attached to the library were meant to be used as residence, I was told that that was a private arrangement between Dr. Venis and Sir James Meston.

At the Muir College I was drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 450/-, Rs. 50/- of which formed a "compensatory allowance" granted to me in view of the fact that my place in the service never gave me a chance of officiating in the higher Indian Educational Service. When I went to Benares I was given a fixed salary of Rs 500/- and when I wrote for the allowance I was told that when my transfer was decided upon there was no talk of any personal allowance. I pointed out that the grounds for the grant of the allowance still remained as good as ever and that if an allowance were not given to me and if I were not given free quarters enjoyed by Dr. Venis, I would be a loser by coming to Benares where I would have to pay for a

suitable house and I was sure that when I was sent to Benares it was not as a form of punishment. Of course all this had no effect.

Dr. Venis used to get an annual allowance of Rs. 200/- or Rs. 250/- for conducting the examinations; this also was not continued to me. And when I remonstrated with Mr. Richardson who had succeeded De La Fosse, he was frank enough to tell me that everything connected with Dr. Venis was somewhat peculiar and irregular. I had to leave it at that.

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7. QUEEN'S COLLEGE AND THE VICE–CHANCELLORSHIP OF ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY

When I went to Benares I found that there was a foundation under the name of the Sadhu Lall Trust, which had been founded by Raja Munshi Madho Lall in memory of his brother Munshi Sadho Lall. It provided some scholarships for the purpose of instructing the old style of Pandit in modern methods of study and research. The scholarships were awarded by a Committee of which the Principal of the Sanskrit College was the Chairman, the other members being the senior-most Pandit of the College and representative of Raja Madho Lall himself. I never very much relished the idea of spoiling the depth of the Pandit's scholarship by teaching him the modern methods which to my mind are always superficial and mostly conjectural. But the endowment was there, so I worked it but always in such a manner as to assure myself that the scholar was not drifting away from his older moorings.

I have all along regretted the disappearance of the old type of pandits whose scholarship was not only vast but also deep. By the time that I went to Benares this type was disappearing under the influence of the examination system. The examinations held under the Benares Sanskrit College used at first to be confined to the College itself. It was purely a College examination; but since the inauguration of the scheme of reviving the old Sanskrit scholarship these examinations were thrown open to all Sanskrit students practically all over India, with the result that the Sanskrit Vidyarthi like the English under-graduate soon fell into the stream and came to regard the passing of examination as the only aim of life. The inevitable result followed. They went on passing one examination after another and forgetting what they had learnt during the previous year. When I went to Benares I tried to stem the tide by proposing that the highest examination should be reserved for pupils taught at the Sanskrit College itself. My idea was that after I seccurd this I would be in a better position to

manipulate the courses of study and training for our pandits than I could if we admitted candidates taught and trained all over the world. This proposal of mine however was turned down by the higher authorities. Though curiously enough the examinations continued and still continue to be called 'Benares Sanskrit College Examinations'.

My attempt in this quarter having failed I made another attempt in another quarter. I proposed that the Government should institute a number of what I proposed to call Post-Acharya scholarships, to continue for 3 years. The number that I proposed in the first instance was six so that at the end of three years we would have 18 young pandits having been trained exactly along the lines of the older scholarship. I wrote to the authorities that this should be done at once because the number of really great pandits of the old type was dwindling fast though we had still got then, 5 or 6 of them among us, under whom the said scholars would receive adequate training. The pandits that I had in mind were (1) Tatya Shastri (2) Vama Charan Bhattacharya of the Sanskrit College itself (3) Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Jaya Dev Mishra who had just been taken on to the staff of the Hindu University (4) Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Nitya Nand Parvatiya who was carrying on teaching in his own home (5) Mahamahopadhyaya Laxman Shastri Dravida who subsequently joined the staff of Sanskrit College at Calcutta (6) Mahamahopadhyaya Devi Prasad Shukla (7) Mahamahopadhyaya Amba Dasa Shastri and one or two others. Fortunately this scheme was sanctioned by Government and I atonce took up the work of selecting the scholars from among the men who had done specially well at the final Acharya examinations, and placing them under selected teachers. I also began to take them myself, specially on such old and difficult books as were not generally taught among pandits. We began very well but I did not perceive one great defect in my scheme. The pandits to whom I sent these scholars for the purpose of intensive study had also to prepare students for usual examinations. The standard books prescribed for these examinations have all been carried in their memory by these great pandits. They had, therefore, to incur no labour in the teaching of these. Under my scheme, however, they had to work on more intensive lines involving more than usual labour and attention.

Nor did I take care o disabuse their mind of the idea that the success of their work in the college would be judged by the number of their *Vidyarthis* who would pass the examinations. The best course would have been, I feel now, when it is too late, to ask them to concentrate entirely on the Post-Acharya scholars and leave the examination candidates to other teachers in the college. In order to insure good work being done I used to hold at the end of the year a sort of an oral test with the help of the particular teacher, in order to judge what progress the scholar had made, and I made the continuance of the scholarship during the succeeding year, dependent upon the impression created by him upon my mind. This work continued and still continues, though I am sorry to find it did not succeed to bring about the expected results. To the best of my information this work slackened after my departure.

There were two other institutions that I started

(I) The publication of important Sanskrit texts chiefly from among the manuscripts stored in the Saraswati-Bhawan itself, (2) The publication of a Journal embodying researches carried on at the institution by myself, by Gopi Nath Kaviraj who was Librarian, and others engaged in similar work at the College and in the Library. The former series of texts I called 'Saraswati Bhawan Texts'; and the latter 'Saraswati Bhawan Studies'. In view of the work that all this would involve, which would absorbe all my time and energy I decided to give up *Indian Thought* which I had been carrying on single handed for more than 10 years, when it completed the 11th volume. In reviewing this, the Reviewer, perhaps Dr. Keith, wrote as follows in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, "A melancholy interest attaches to these volumes. *Indian Thought* made its first appearance in 1907 under the able Editorship of George Thibaut and Ganga Nath Jha and seemed to have before it the prospect of a long and prosperous career. The translations of philosophical works issued in it were uniformly good. *Indian Thought* after bravely living through 11 volumes has expired. The loss to scholarship is great but the work achieved by the series is one of lasting merit and of it *Parsmagna fruit* the works of Ganga Nath Jha. Probably no European can approach him in the mastery which he wields over the rugged realms of Indian Philosophy." After this I put my whole heart into the two series that I started at Benares. While I continued to work on Medhā-

tithi's *Manu-Bhāsya*, all this work which had been pleasant and agreeble at Allahabad became doubly so when carried on in association with an accomplished and well-informed scholar like Gopi Nath Kaviraj and the unassuming though exceptionally sound Pandit like Vama Charan Bhattacharya.

All my life I had resided in garden houses. I had had built one at Allahabad in 1910 and when I came to Benares, there also I looked out for a suitable garden-house near about the Queen's College. But I soon found that there were no suitable houses available. I, therefore, made up my mind to build a house of my own. This was a desperate decision because I had not a single pie in the Bank at the time. But somehow or other with the help of a building advance from the Government and an advance from the Maharanee of Darbhanga who had by this time come to reside at Benares, I managed to have the house, though it cost me the high amount of over Rs. 25,000/- of which Rs. 8,000/- went for the acquiring of the land alone. I was enabled to incur the huge expenditure also by the receipt of money from the Calcutta University on account of my work on Medhātithi. Sir Ashutosh had so arranged it that I should be paid for each volume as it was printed. As each volume consisted of about 510 pages it brought me Rs. 2500/-, at intervals which were never very long, as the Calcutta University Press was very regular and very efficient.

The routine of my official duties was never heavy. It never took me more than 10 minutes to dispose of the file. It took me an hour or so to go about in the college and see the pandits at work. Another hour was spent in taking the Sadho Lall and the Post-Acharya scholars. This was about all. So that starting about 7 in the morning I returned home by 10 and as I always went on foot this gave me the necessary amount of exercise also; so that the rest of the day and night was entirely my own. As a rule I did not go out except during the summer months. When Govind Dasa was at Benares, I went to him everyday in the evening and remained with him till about 9 o' clock.

It was during my stay at Benares that the first Oriental Conference was held at Poona. I was sent there to represent the U.P. Government. My wife and the youngest child accompanied me. We halted at Nasik and visited Pancha-

bati and Godavari and also spent a night and morning at Tryambaka, 12 miles away from Nasik, where we saw the source of Godavari.

We arrived at Bombay at night, and went to the nearest hotel which happend to be the Taj Mahal, but though there were rooms available, their lift was out of order. And as my wife could not go up-stairs we had to move on to another hotel. We went to the Sardar-Griha. The lift was in order there. So we put up there. The next day we went to the bazaar and left Bombay in the afternoon reaching Poona in the evening. There also we put up in the Sardar hotel.

Early in the morning I went over to Dr. Gune at the Deccan College. He asked me to come over and take up my lodging in some room provided by Prof. Karmarkar for the time being, because as the time of the conference had not quite arrived, the arrangements to be made for delegates had not been completed. I went over to the hotel and got over the family. During the day, however, we discovered that the place was so infested with bugs that it would be impossible to have any sleep. When Dr. Gune was told of this he very kindly arranged for our lodgings in one of the college-hostels which they called the 'Vaidika-Āśrama'. We continued to live in these rooms all through our stay at Poona, which was very pleasant. After the conference was over we left for Benares but the trains were so crowded that we had to wait at Kalyan for the night. In the morning also we could only squeeze ourselves into a crowded compartment. We reached Allahabad by the Bombay Mail and went over to Benares on the same day.

It was about this time that Malaviyaji proposed to Government that the Benares Sanskrit College should be handed over to the Hindu University.

The Governer, Sir Harcourt Butler appointed a committee to consider the proposal. This committee consisted of Mr. Burn, who was Commissioner of Benares, myself as Principal of the College, Mr. De La Fosse as D.P.I., Malaviyaji and Col. Bindeshwari Prasad Singh as representing the Maharaja of Benares. The Maharaja of Benares had a special interest in the College because when it was started in 1794, it depended entirely upon the Maharaja's endowment which

consisted of landed properties fetching at that time an income of Rs. 20,000/- per year. This committee did not accept Malaviayaji's proposal. The opposition of the Maharaja was particularly strong, his argument being that if the Government was unwilling to maintain the College as hitherto, it should hand it over to him along with the property endowed. This proposal of Malaviyaji thus fell through. I suggested it to him that as all the lower stages up to the highest degree of Acharya was being carried on at the Government College he should not waste money in duplicating this same work at the Hindu University; he should, therefore, concentrate upon higher and more intensive work on the old lines. I pointed out to him that the old type of the profound pandit was fast disappearing, even at that time there were only the following left at Benares :—Pt. Jaydeva Mishra, Pt. Nitya Nand and Vama Charan Bhattacharya and one or two others. It was high time, therefore, that the services of these pandits were utilised in maintaining the old standard. This could be done if he provided decent scholarships on the line of the Post-Graduate scholarships that I had started at the Government College which could be given to promising *Vidyarthis* who had passed the Acharya examination of the Government College. This, however, did not appeal to Malaviyaji and he duplicated the entire machinery from top to bottom at the Hindu University.

While I was at Benares I heard that I had been nominated by Government as its representative on the newly constituted Council of State. It was entirely unexpected. The Legislative Department of the Government of India arranged for our lodgings and I was assigned quarters at 12 Body Guard Lines, which is further even than the new Viceregal Court. It was quite 8 miles away from the Council Chamber in the old Secretariat. The problem of conveyance was, therefore, quite serious as the nearest carriage-stand also was more than 6 miles off from our quarters. Luckily, however, my old friend Lâla Sukbir Sinha of Muzaffarnagar was also lodged next door to me and he had a car. He was also a member of the Council, so he very kindly promised to take me along with himself to the meetings and other official functions. Again within two or three days I also made friends with other members of the Legislature, who also had their lodgings at the same place. Among these were the following :—Sir Lallubhai Samal Dasa, Raja Annamalai Chettiar (who subsequently became the foun-

der of the University at Chidambaram), both these were members of the Council; as also Dewan Bahadur Ram Chandra Naidu. Among members of the Assembly there were Sir Shiva Swami Aiyer and Seshgiri Aiyer, retired Judge of the Madras High Court. So it was a very delightful company. There were no inconveniences at all except the distance of the bazaar which was more than 6 miles away.

When I found that the accommodation was alright I wired to Amaranatha to bring over my wife with the three younger children. It was a very happy experience for me. I got an allowance of Rs. 20/- a day and the rent for our quarters was I belive something like Rs. 60/- a month. The work was very light The Council did not meet more than about twice a week and being a nominated member I was free from all anxieties, since I discovered the statement in the rules that under the New Constitution the nominated members would be free to speak and vote as they liked, was a mere eyewash, because on all important occasions we got whips from Government asking us to be in our place in the Council, which meant, that we were to vote with Government. When a question on this matter was directly put in the Assembly, the answer given by the President was to the effect that the questioner himself being the Leader of a party knew the implication of party discipline. The meaning of this simply was that the Government nominees were to vote always for the Government just in the same way as members of other parties were to vote with the members of their parties irrespective in both, of personal opinion of the members concerned.

In spite of this handicap, however I did not wish to remain a silent member and in consultation with Govind Dasa I found some subjects on which even the Government servant could move resolutions. The first subject that I selected was Codification of Hindu Law. I obtained the previous permission of our Minister of Education Mr. (now Sir) C. Y. Chintamani and in consultation with Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Law Member at the time, I sent the due notice to the Council Secretary. When I brought forward the resolution before the Council Dr. Sapru supported the idea, but said that as the work involved in the carrying out of the resolution was a stupendous one the Government of India would like to consult the High Courts and other bodies in the country. The

action taken by me was somewhat anomalous; specially because my resolution was taken up on one of the days allotted to 'non-official business', and yet I was an official member. However, no one objected and I justified my membership. Similarly at the next session at Simla I moved a resolution regarding the search of manuscripts in the country. This also was accepted by the Government, but Sir Mohammad Shafi, Education Member, told the Council that as under the New Constitution the matter was a Provincial one all that could be done was to send the resolution to the Provincial Governments. In the Simla Session of the next year I brought forward a resolution on the standardisation of weights and measures. The Commerce Member accepted it and added that all that the Government of India could do in the matter was to declare that the weights should be standard; the matter of penalising the use of other weights was vested in the Provincial Governments and proposals to that effect should be made in the Provincial Councils. The Government of India did follow up this promise and declared the standard weights to be those in use in Railways. I wrote to several friends in the Provincial Councils but no one took any interest in the matter. And it is only this year (1938) that the necessary legislation is being undertaken in some provinces.

It was during this time the Allahabad University was re-organised into a a University of the Unitary teaching type, and De La Fosse was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor on a salary of Rs. 3,000/- per month. Before long, however, difficulties arose as a result of which De La Fosse had to go. The reasons for this need not be gone into here. In the first instance, he went on leave for 6 or 8 months. And while still on leave he was advised to resign. Before this matter came to a head a proposal was made by certain friends that when De La Fosse went I should be the Vice-Chancellor in his place. As it was the first occasion of such an election, for some time there was no definite idea as to who would make the temporary appointment. The idea was that the Chancellor would do it. When, therefore, the Chancellor, Sir William Marris came to Benares about this time I met him. He seemed to have been favourably impressed. It was about the time of the summer vacation that De La Fosse went on leave. And it was then settled that the officiating Vice-Chancellor would be elected by the Executive Council of the University. We were spending

the vacation at Allahabad on account of Shyambhavi's treament ; she was suffering from Kalazar. While I was at Allahabad, Mackenzie, who was the D.P.I. at the time, wrote to me asking me to see him. He told me that he had been directed by the Governor to see that I was elected officiating Vice-Chancellor and he advised me that there should, therefore, be no convassing of any other kind. The Executive Council met in July and at this meeting Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad told me that he had been specially asked by the Governor to see that this election was unanimous and he told me that it was going to be so. At the meeting Mackenzie proposed my name, and no other name being proposed I was duly elected. But the salary was reduced (evidently because I was an Indian) to Rs. 2000/- with a house-allowance of Rs. 200/-. Within a few days of this the formal sanction of the Chancellor was received and I was relieved at Benares by Gopi Nath Kaviraj who was appointed officiating Principal of the College in my place, and took over charge of the Vice-Chancellorship.

The Political atmosphere of the country at the time was very tense. It was practically the very thick of the Non-Cooperation Movement. This had its repercussion in our Educational Institutions and even during my officiating Vice-Chancellorship I had to deal with a difficult situation. The Viceroy Lord Reading was coming to the United Provinces. He desired to visit one University in the Province and for some reason or the other, the Governor, Sir William Marris desired that, that one University should be Allahabad University. When there were only two days left for the Viceroy's arrival a small section of the students made up their mind to boycott the function, and the reason that they gave was that the Vice-Chancellor being a member of the Council of State was going to make a political speech when welcoming the Viceroy. Soon after my taking over the Vice-Chancellorship, I had revived in the University the 'Students' Representative Council' which we used to have at the Muir College. I called a meeting of this Council and told them that there was absolutely no truth in the rumour that had been set afloat and that I was not going to make any speech at all. The boys assured me that there would be no trouble. But during the night before the day of the visit a few students, mostly outsiders, went round our hostels and took away from the boys the tickets of admission that

had been issued to them as required by the Police. I was apprised of this in the morning and arranged it with the Police Authorities that students of the University should be allowed to enter the Senate House even without the admission tickets and I assured them that some officer of the University would be present at the gate to recognise the students. The Viceroy came in due time and the whole thing passed off quite successfully. Sir William Marris was much pleased and wrote to me a letter the same evening that he was particularly gratified at the success of the visit because it was against some opposition that he had fixed upon Allahabad as the one University to be visited.

It was about this time that Sir William Marris wrote to me that the permanent Vice-Chancellor, De La Fosse, had sent in his resignation. This meant that the election of the permanent Vice-Chancellor would have to be held immediately after, i. e. during November at the meeting of the Court. Under the rules the Executive Council of the University was required to send up three names out of which one was to be elected by the Court. The three names sent up on this occasion were those of Dr. Weir, professor of Law at the University, Dr. Zia-uddin Ahmed, Pro-Vice-Chancellor at the Aligarh University and myself. At the Court meeting, the Registrar read a letter from Zia-uddin stating that he did not wish to stand. So the voting took place as between Dr. Weir and myself. I was elected having got 74 votes as against 26 for Weir.

After this my usual work at the University commenced and I have very happy recollections of the hearty co-operation that I received from all sections, members of the various bodies of the University, teachers and students ; the only trouble that I had with the students was, when during the absence of the real Congress-leaders, acting dictators set up an agitation for the picketing of the University, for no rhyme or reason. When asked what they wanted they said they wanted the University to be closed. Why ? Because men were wanted for working in the country. I told them they could take away as many people as they liked to go but why should the University be closed ? There are bound to be a large number of students who would not care to go out for the sort of work contemplated. They did not listen and the picketing went on for several days till



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two of their reasonable leaders saw the futility of the whole thing. They came to me and had the trouble stopped. Even on the worst of provocations I did not call in the aid of the Police; an ommission which perhaps caused some displeasure in high quarters, but there was entire satisfaction among the people at large, including the parents and guardians of the students. After that our work went on peacefully.

The only serious controversy that arose in the University was over the subject of 'co-education.' My opinion on this point has always been somewhat conservative. I made a slight attempt for improving things from my own point of view. This was not liked by many people. There was a lot of disagreeableness in the beginning ; but in the end it all ended amicably and we succeeded in establishing the nucleus of a girls' college in the University, which after the lapse of 10 or 12 years is now (1938) nearing fulfilment.

After the expiry of my first term I was re-elected with 54 votes as against 27 for Weir. After a short time, the Associated Colleges went out of the University to form the Agra University and on certain personal grounds some prominent people at Allahabad became unfriendly towards me, to this extent that when the third election fell due there was very strong canvassing carried on against me by the High Court group and also, I am afraid, by certain other Government departments. When the election came it was again between Dr. Weir and myself. The contest was keen and in the end I got a majority of one vote.

Even this did not stop the agitation against me and 2 or 3 very prominent people of the High Court, Bench and Bar, wrote letters to the Chancellor, Sir Malcom Hailey, asking him to set aside the election on various grounds. The Chancellor called me to Lucknow and consulted about it and in the end he decided not to set aside the election which was duly confirmed. The only other unpalatable experience that I have had at the University was in regard to the filling up of the professorship of English vacated by the retirement of Mr. Dunn. The post was advertised and applications came from India and also from England. When the matter was finally referred to the Selection Commi-

ttee a funny sort of convassing and conspiracy was set on foot for the purpose of excluding my son, Amaranatha, from the said Professorship. This canvassing was successfull so far that some members of the Selection Committee would not even look at the literary works of the two most likely candidates, Amaranatha and Mr. Fielden, Principal of the Agra College. They sent up the name of the latter at the top. When the matter came up to the Executive Council for final disposal they resolved to appoint Amaranatha by a majority of 9 to 6. Under the rules therefore, as there was conflict between the Executive Council and Selection Committee matter had to go to the Chancellor for final disposal. Evidently the Chancellor also had been apprised of the unhealthy agitation in the matter. He, therefore, appointed a Committee consisting entirely of outsiders to look into the papers of the two candidates and make their recommendations. This Committee unanimously recommended Amaranatha and the Chancellor appointed him Professor.

Finding their plans so absolutely frustrated, two of the main agitators severed their connection from the University Council.

My third term of Vice-Chancellorship was completed in November 1932 and I was succeeded by my old friend Pt. Iqbal Narain Gurtu who took over charge in the first week of December.

During the whole of 1932 specially after July, my wife was seriously ill of some intestinal troubles. No amount of medication gave her any relief. So that during the whole of that year she was gradually sinking and on the 3rd of November Dr. Rabindranath who had been treating her all along told me that the end had come and that she had not more than 24 hours to live. I had asked him some time before this to tell me as soon as he found that the disease had taken a dangerous turn so that I might be able to take her to the river-side. At that time he told me that there was nothing dangerous. Hence when my wife asked me I told her the same thing and also added that when that time came I would take her to the Ganga. When, however, Rabindranath told me that she was in danger I asked him if we could take her to the river-side, he said that he dared not advise it, as her condition was such that the mere lifting of the body

from the bed might bring on collapse. I told him then that under the circumstances rather than killing her on the road it would be better to keep her at home and let her die in proper surroundings. So we made preparations accordingly. She was laid upon the ground surrounded by sacred things we could get together ; she was surrounded by all she loved ; on one side sitting close by her was myself, then Bhavanatha and Amaranatha. Shivanatha was at Bikaner and Vibhutinatha was at Leheriasarai ; Pandit was at her feet, along with Sita, loudly reciting—*Hare Rāma, Hare Rāma, Rāma, Rāma Hare Hare, Hare Kṛṣṇa, Hare Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Here, Here.* On the other side was Dhatri and Sita ; the other girls were at their homes ; but the wives of Dakshina Bhattacharya and Damari Ojha were there and curiously enough the whole family of my departed friend, Govind Dasa, came with his eldest son, Srinivas and his wife and daughter-in-law. Before losing her speach she called Amaranatha near her and told him to take care of the girls ; he promised most solemnly to do this. She called to herself Bhatta (Bhavanatha) frequently but said nothing ; because I think, she wished to tell him that he should marry but knowing how averse he was to the idea she did not like to exert undue pressure as the request at this moment would be. Turning to me she said, *"Hama ahānka Sevā nahi Kaya Sakalahun"*.—"I have not been able to serve you"—I told her she had done enough, where upon she began to weep , but when I told her "where you are going you will meet your parents as also your dearly loved daughter-in-law and grandchild who have recently died and at the same time you would be looking down upon all of us"—she was consoled. Turning to Pandit she said, "you are rendering the exact service that you should to your parents. *Bhagavāna* will do you good." After that she did not speak again. Her face took an effulgent shine and there was no suffering of any kind. She lay down breathing. The whole night this calm and ennobling scene lasted and it was after 5 in the morning that she began to breathe a little harder and she quietly passed off on November 4.

Her disease had been aggravated by the death in March of her dearly loved daughter-in-law, the wife of Bhavanatha, followed twelve days later by that of her grand-child, the six month old son of Bhavanatha. All this deprived her of the little vitality she had and to all these she succumbed.

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8. ABOUT WORKS

When I joined the Queen's College at Benares in 1886, I used to see in the Library copies of a monthly journal called *'Pandit'* in which important Sanskrit texts and translations used to be printed. Frequently in the journal there appeared contributions over the initials G. Th. and A. V. standing, I was told, for George Thibaut, the Principal of our College, and Arthur Venis, our Professor of English, but both Sanskrit scholars. It has already been mentioned that even at that early age my ambition was to become a Professor of Sanskrit and seeing these initials I was fired by the ambition of my initials also appearing in that same journal, an ambition which was fulfilled in 1898 when through the help of Professor Venis my first translation of *Kāvya Prakāśa* was printed in that journal. I had taken up this work of translation as early as 1890 under the inspiration of my two friends Govinda Dasa and Bhagvan Dasa when I was reading the Sanskrit texts prescribed for the M. A. examination with a Pandit, while the medium of examination was, as now, English, I was advised to translate into English all the works that I was reading; not, indeed, with a view to publication, but simply as a part of my preparation for the examination. In this way in course of a few months I had already completed translation of such important texts as (1) *Sāṁkhya-Tattva-Kaumudī* (2) *Kāvya-Prakāśa* and the (3) *Nyāya-Muktāvalī* The first of these was printed for the first time in the pages of the *Theosophist*, the official organ of the Theosophical society and from that it was re-printed and published by Mr. Tukaram Tatya for the Theosophical Publication Fund, Bombay, and the third and revised edition has been recently brought out at Poona by the Oriental Book Agency. The second, as already mentioned, was printed for the first time in the pages of the *'Pandit'*, and reprinted therefrom; a thoroughly revised edition was brought out in 1924 by the Indian Press, Allahabad. The third had a very sad fate. When I was Professor at the Muir College there was a student of mine preparing for the M. A. to whom I lent the manuscript of my translation with a view to helping him; and the whole of this manuscript was lost. When I went to Darbhanga as the Maharaja's Librarian, I did two more translations for the above-mentioned Tukaram Tatya. The first was that of *'Yoga-Sāra-Saṅgraha'* an authoritative manual on Yoga

by Vijñān Bhikṣu, and the second was that of the *'Yoga-Bhāṣya'*, the most authorittaive book on Yoga. Both of these translations were published by Tukaram Tatya; thoroughly revised editions of both have been recently published by the Theosophical Publishing House at Madras.

I have already mentioned above that I read at Darbhanga and translated into English two of the most important texts on *'Pūrva Mīmāṁsā'*, the *'Ślokavārtika'* and *'Tantra-Vārtika'*, by Kumārila. Both of these translations were published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. Immediately after completing these translations I had to leave Darbhanga under circumstances already described and came to Allahabad where there was no Pandit capable of helping me; I was now thrown entirely upon my own resources. Before long at Allahabad I undertook and completed the translation of the *'Praśasta Pāda Bhāṣya'* along with the voluminous commentary, the *'Nyāya-Kandalī'*; this was printed in the same old journal the *'Pandit'*. It was about this time in 1905 or 1906 that the time came for the maturing of the plans which Dr. Thibaut had in view and with a view to which mainly he had helped me to get to Allahabad. As early as 1900 while I was still at Darbhanga one day I was very agreeably surprised at getting a long letter from Dr. Thibaut who was at that time Principal of the Muir Central College at Allahabad. I had never met him till then; had a feeling of respect and awe due to his scholarship which had already become far-famed on account of his work on Indian Astronomy and Mathematics, the volume on which subject he contributed to Dr. Buhler's Cyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research, and of his translation of the two *Bhāṣyas* on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, the Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. He wrote to say that it was his intention to bring out an Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy, but as the work was going to take several years he wished to associate with himself a younger scholar, and from what he had seen of my work so far, specially on *"Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā,"* he felt that I would be a suitable associate. He asked me to see him some day if I came over to Benares, or Allahabad. Of course I jumped at the offer and took the earliest opportunity to meet him when I went to Benares on my annual visit during the ensuing Durgā *Pūjā* I met him at Allahabad and he told me what his scheme was and we arranged the plan of our work which I was to carry on at Darbhanga and he at Allahabad. The plan briefly was as follows :—A Cycl-

opaedia of Indian Philosophy dealing with all the important topics dealt with in the more important text books was the aim; but as a preliminary to this we were to prepare complete translations of all the more important texts, the larger ones as well as the smaller ones. When these translations had been made we were to select the most intelligible extracts bearing upon each topic and insert them enblock in the Cyclopaedia in their proper places. As for the books to be selected we decided to take up in the beginning those works which were typical on each subject. I went back to Darbhanga and set to work at preparing a few specimen articles. I had also to complete my reading and translation of the '*Tantravārtika.*'

From early boyhood, I had a sort of ambition for authorship. The earliest manifestation was in the shape of composing verses in Sanskrit while I was still in the lower classes at school. I continued this even when I went over to the Queen's College at Benares after Matriculation, and in Sanskrit composition-exercises I used to make my translation material. My meeting with a Sanskrit Vidyarthi, Raghubir Prasad Mishra, added further impetus to this and before I had taken the B. A. degree I had composed more than a hundred verses and I selected 50 of these and printed them at Darbhanga under the title "Katipayadivasodgamaprarohāḥ." This I circulated among my pandit friends. This was my first literary venture. When I was preparing for the M. A. examination, as the medium of examination was English, I was advised by my friend Govind Dasa that, as I went on reading the more difficult texts, I should go on preparing their English translations. This would serve a three-fold purpose. It would be a revision of the lessons; it would be an exercise in the act of expressing the difficult ideas in English; and ultimately some of the translations could also be published. In this way within a year I had completed the English translations of '*Sāṅkhya-Tattva Kaumudi*', '*Kāvya-Prakāśa*' and '*Nyāya-Muktāvalī*'.

At Darbhanga I wrote out a sheet in Sanskrit called 'Belā Māhātmya' an account of the house in which we lived at Darbhanga. This was by way of a parody of the many spurious Māhātmyas known as contained in the various *Purāṇas*. This was an entirely harmless piece of work, full of fun; but it aroused the anger of the old orthodox people at Darbhanga. About this same time I wrote out in Sanskrit the '*Bhakti-Kallolinī*', a running metrical commen-

tary on the *'Bhakti-sūtras'* of Śāṇḍilya. This was printed at Benares in 1895.

Another Sanskrit work, a commentary on *Prasanna-Rāghava*, a drama, I began while I was preparing for the M. A. A portion of it I showed to my father-in law. He was very much pleased with what I had done at that age (18-19) and encouraged me to go on with the work. I finished the work and sent it to the Venkateshwara Press at Bombay who had promised to publish it. After two or three years, when they did not show any signs of printing it, I got the manuscript back, revised the whole thing and finally got it published in the *'Pandit'* at Benares in 1906. My authorship in Sanskrit was discontinued for a time and it was resumed only about 1908 when I had to write out a resume in Sanskrit because of my thesis for the Doctorate. This I have not yet published, it is much too brief. Another work in Sanskrit which I wrote much later was *'Khadyota'*, a commentary on the *'Nyāya-Bhāṣya'* I was led to do this work under the following circumstances : My friend Govinda Dasa, a great manuscript-hunter, had acquired the library which was said to have belonged to the great Vedānta-writer Madhusudana Saraswati at Benares. It was a valuable collection, but most of the larger work were such as had already been published. There was a fragment, however, of a work which was unique in more than one way. The *'Nyāya-Bhāṣya'* has had a series of commentaries upon it, but they are of the discursive type and no explanatory commentary was available. The fragment that we discovered happened to be such a commentary. Unfortunately, however, it extended only to about half of the work. The way in which the manuscript suddenly ended clearly indicated that the copy we had was the one written by the author himself, who had apparently suddenly died or was otherwise interrupted in his work, practically in the middle of a sentence. The manuscript was in the Maithili script. It was called the *'Bhāṣya-Candra'*, and the author's name was Raghuttama. From all these facts we concluded that no other copy of the work could be in existence. It was a simple word-to-word explanation of the *'Bhāṣya'*. I, therefore, thought it to be too valuable to be left unpublished. And as the usefulness of the work could not be complete unless it had been completed I made up my mind to complete the remaining portion on a somewhat similar but ambitious plan and gave to my work the modest title of *'Khadyota'* and published the whole commentary along with the *'Bhāṣya'*, over

the text of which also I had worked hard while translating it, in the Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series at Benares in 1925.

The success of this work and the kindness with which it was received by some great Pandits at Benares led me on to undertake another work in Sanskrit. This also was upon a rare work, a manuscript which again was discovered by Govind Dasa among the manuscripts belonging to Dr. Thibaut which had been deposited when he went on long leave, with Mr. Gyanendra Nath Chakravarty at Allahabad. This was a work written by Maṇḍana Miśra in his usual metrical style, as an epitome of the 12 adhyāyas of the *Mīmāṁsā-Sūtras*.

This work is so beautifully composed that the purport of every one of the thousand and odd topics is throughout expressed in one quarter of a verse. Naturally, therefore, it was much too brief to be studied. It is clear that when several centuries later, Mādhavācārya worte his *Nyāya-Mālā* he did so on the model of this much older work of Maṇḍana Miśra. Maṇḍana Miśra's work, however, had not been supplemented by an explanatory commentary in the way in which the *Nyāya-Mālā* had been supplemented by Mādhavācārya himself in his '*Vistara*'. I therefore, made up my mind to supply this deficiency; but I was not able to take up this work before 1922 or 23 while I was at Benares. I completed it during the time that I was Vice-Chancellor at Allahabad; and the work was published in the Chowkhambha series at Benares in 1930. The name of the original is *Mīmāṁsānukramaṇikā* and my commentary is called '*Mīmāṁsā-Maṇḍana*.

As it stood, however, the work was not very intelligible though it was clearer in style than the '*Nyāya-Mālā*'. Govind Dasa got this rare manuscript copied out by myself during the two days that we were at Allahabad. When I went to Darbhanga I showed this work to my tutor Pt. Chitra Dhara Mishra. He said the work deserved to be published. I got it published at Benares in the Chowkhambha series with the help of another manuscript that Govind Dasa had discovered at Benares. In course of my study of *Mīmāṁsā* I had found it to my cost that there was no reliable manual setting forth in detail the full content of the Mīmāṁsā-Śāstra as presented in the Sūtras. When, therefore, I was on the look out for some work to be done in Sanskrit I thought of this

manual and atonce began to write a commentary on this. Each line of the *Śloka* representing a single topic, provided the text for the commentay, in which was presnted a clear and concise account of the subject-matter of the *Adhikaraṇa*. This also was received kindly by the Pandits and it established my reputation among them and they came to look upon me not only as an Anglo-Sanskrit Scholar but also as a Pandit.

Before I was transferred to Benares I was requested by the 'Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha' to write for them a book in Hindi on the six systems of Indian Philosophy. Max Muller's books were suggested to me as model. I told them, however, that while I would be glad to do the work I could not do it on Max Muller's line because the presentation of each Philosophy under that system had to be brief and hence incomplete. Finally it was decided that I should proceed with the work on my own lines. Whithin a short time I wrote two sections; one on *Vaiśeṣika* and another on *Nyāya*. These were found to be too large to be treated as 'Chapters' of a single book. These were printed, therefore, as two seperate pamphlets under the titles '*Vaiśeṣika-Darpaṇa*' and '*Nyāya-Prakāśa*'. These exhausted the fund of Rs. 1200/- that had been given to the Sabha by the Raja of Bhinga and as there were no more funds available the work had to be stopped. In 1929 I was asked by the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad to deliver a course of lectures. I delivered these on the basis of the '*Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā*' of Rājaśekhara. This has been published by the Academy under the title '*Kavirahasya*'. About this same time I was invited by the Patna University to deliver a course of lectures in Hindi. I delivered these on the subject of 'Hindu Law in its sources'. Though these lectures were printed and all the proofs passed through my hands I don't know if they were actually ever published. All my enquiries at the University office regarding these have remained unanswered. This is all that I have done in the field of Hindi.

The only work that I did upon another vernacular was in my mother tongue Maithili. This is a small treatise on *Vedānta*, called *Vedānta-Dīpikā*. It was published at Darbhanga in 1936.

My main literary work has been done in the English language. The reason for this has been mainly utilitarian. Ever since my boyhood I had

noticed that those scholars who had written their works in English had received a better and larger appreciation than those who did it in an Indian language. This idea of mine had been fully confirmed in my own experience. Taking only one very important example before the appearance of the English rendering of his famous *Gītāñjali*, Sri Rabindra Nath Tagore was known only in Bengal and it was only since his works began to appear in English that he became a man of not only all India but all world fame. In my own case, my old friend Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Ramavatara Sharma of Chhapra and Patna was a very much sounder scholar of Sanskrit and very much better equipped even in modern scholarship than myself, and yet he did not become as well known beyond Calcutta, Patna and Benares as I am, and the only reason for this was that while I worked in English, he worked in Hindi. Of course his is the greater credit, but I have only given an explanation why I took to work in English. The example and influence of Dr. Thibaut and Dr. Venis also tended towards this result.

Apart from translations, I have written 6 works in English. For the Doctorate at Allahabad I wrote the thesis on the Prabhākara School of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. It was a difficult work; in the first place, because practically nothing had been done by any one on this particular system of *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā*, with the exception of the translation of *Artha-Saṅgraha* by Dr. Thibaut, and that of the *Ślokavārtika* and *Tantravārtika* by myself; but on the particular school of Prabhākara nothing had been done and people knew of it only in name. The only Sanskrit work that had been published was of a fragment of *Prakaraṇa-Pañcikā*. Of any original work by Prabhākara himself people did not know anything at all and the discovery of such a work was made by me; it was Prabhākara's own commentary on the '*Śābara-Bhāṣya*' on the *Mīmāṁsā Sūtras*. The manuscript, however, that I had secured extended to only about half of the work (the second section, adhyāya) but, as all the more important matters are practically exhausted in the first three Adhyāyas (chapters) it provided all the necessary information regarding Prabhākara's views on all important matters. I had thus sufficient material to proceed with my work. I have already described above that after having written out the thesis in English I had to prepare an epitome of the same in Sanskrit for the benefit of my examiners, two of whom did not know English. This work (in English) was subsequently published by the University of Allahabad in

1911. It attracted much attention in Europe and from several communications that I received from Dr. Thomas it seemed that this work of mine was what established my reputation in Europe. I know also that since the publication of this work every account of *Mīmāṁsā* that has come out has drawn freely from my book; chiefly because it did not deal with the Prabhākara System only but provided a full account of the entire system from the point of view of both Prabhākara and Kumārila. I have revised this book now (1938), and have made it as complete an exposition of *Mīmāṁsā* as I could. This revised version has been included by Prof. R. D. Ranade in his projected Cyclopaedia of the various Philosophical systems.

About this time Raja Munshi Madho Lall of Benares gave to the University of Allahabad the sum of Rs. 1200/- for a series of lectures on some subject dealing with Indian Philosophy. Applications were invited by the University and I also made my application; here also the Department of Public Instruction provided evidence of its kindness towards me. When I applied for permission to make my application in connection with these lectures they said that the permission should be asked for only if I were selected by the University. I was so disgusted with the attitude of the Department that I atonce wrote to the University withdrawing my application. On the same day we had a meeting of the Syndicate at which Jennings who was our Principal at the Muir College, asked Dr. Venis if he had been able to select a lecturer. Dr. Venis said in reply, "I had thought that I had and we had decided to have Ganganatha but it is only today that I heard in the morning that he had withdrawn his application". Jennings asked me why I had done so. I told him all that the Department had said. He therefore, it seemes, intervened on my behalf and secured for me the necessary permission and I was duly appointed. The number of lectures to be delivered was 12. I delivered them at Allahabad, of course with very limited audience and as my account of the system was very full the only portion covered by the lectures, so far as I remember, proceeded to about a third of the whole subject. These lectures were printed at Allahabad in our Journal *Indian Thought* in 1912, under the title of 'Sadholall lectures on Nyāya' but never appeared in book form.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee of Calcutta had lost his dearly loved daughter Kamla and in honour of her memory he paid to the Calcutta University a sum

of 40 or 50 thousand rupees; the proceeds of which were to go towards the payment of a thousand rupees and a gold medal worth Rs. 200/- to an eminent scholar elected to deliver a course of four lectures at Calcutta and to repeat the same at some other centres. Mrs. Besant was the first lecturer. She lectured on Education. The Rt. Hon'ble Srinivas Shastri was the second lecturer who had for his subject Citizenship. I was the third and I selected for my subject Philosophical Discipline. The lectures had to be delivered just before the Christmas vacation. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar at Calcutta arranged for my residence in Tagore-Villa belonging to Raja Profullo Nath Tagore. We had to have a commodious house because my wife was also eager to go and the whole family accompanied us. Lectures were delivered in days and we spent an altogether very happy week at Calcutta. These lectures were printed in 1928.

It was in 1916 that the Calcutta University had advertised for a Tagore Lecture to deliver a course of lectures on 'Manu and Yājñavalkya' and applicants were asked to submit a complete introductory lecture along with a full synopsis of the entire course of lectures proposed to be delivered. In this connection I wrote out the introductory lecture dealing with the 'Sources of Hindu Law'. Taking this introductory lecture as the opening chapter, I began to write out a full account of the entire subject of Hindu Law in all its 18 sections of *Vyavahāra*. The Introductory chapter and the chapter on the Procedure and Evidence were printed for the first time in the *Saraswati-Bhawan Studies* which I started at Benares. When I proceeded to work on the subject, it ultimately came to be a work too large for publication in any periodical journal. It was, therefore, published from 1930 to 33 by the Indian Press Allahabad in two volumes. I tried to make this work as comprehensive as I could and I can say with a clear conscience that I did not omit to deal any authoritative texts, either in the form of a *'Smṛti'* or a *'Nibandha'* or a digest. To this work my late friend Sarat Chandra Chaudhary of the Allahabad University added an appendix dealing with certain important decisions of the Privy Council bearing upon important points of the Hindu Law of Inheritance.

In 1932 I was invited by the Baroda Government to deliver a course of lectures on 'Śaṅkarācārya and his work for the uplift of the country'. I went

to Baroda taking Bhavanath with me. I was lodged in a very comfortable guest-house and delivered the lectures at the Maharaja's Palace where both the Maharaja and the Maharanee were present. Before going to the lecture-hall I was sent for by the Maharaja to meet him. There he introduced the Maharanee to me and all of us together then proceeded to the Darbar Hall where my seat was provided between the Maharaja and the Dewan; the Maharanee being seated to the left of the Maharaja. Next morning I went to the Palace to see the Maharaja again and had some talk on various topics. The same evening my second lecture was delivered at the public library. All these lectures were printed at Baroda in their 'Kirti Mandir Lecture Series' in 1933.

I have just completed my comprehensive work on *Pūrva Mīmānsa* for Prof. Ranade's Cyclopaedia and am now engaged upon a comprehensive account of the Vedanta known as *Uttara-Mīmansa*; and this for me is a continuation and concluding section of *Mīmansa* in general, which includes both *Pūrva Mīmansa* and *Uttara Mīmansā*; the latter being better known under the title of *Vedanta*. This work on *Vedanta* was delivered in a course of lecture at the Allahabad University under an endowment made by the Maharaja-dhiraja of Darbhanga under the title of 'Maharajadhiraj Sir Rameshwar Singh Lectures' in memory of his father. Under another endowment trust created by the same Maharaja under the title of 'Mithilesh-Mahesh Ramesh lectureship', I delivered three lectures in Bihar, one in Sanskrit (on the Philosophy); the 2nd, in Hindi (on the teaching of Sanskrit) and the third in Maithili, summary of the first two.

As regards my translations it has already been stated before that the translations of *Kāvya-Prakāśa* and *Sāṅkhya-Tattwa Kaumudi* were done as preparation for my M. A. examination. And the translation of *Yogā-Sara-Sangrha* and the *Yoga-Bhāṣhya* were done for Tuka Ram Tatya of Bombay; and both of these were revised for the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras. While I was still in Darbhanga I was asked to translate the '*Śāṅkara Bhāṣya*' on the *Chandogya Upaniṣad*, for Mr. V. C. Sheshachari of Madras. This was printed in two volumes in 1899, reprinted in 1923 and revised by me in 33 or 34 at the request of the Theosophical Publishing House. This revised translation has not yet been published.

While I was still at Darbhanga I got a letter from Dr. Venis asking me if I could undertake the translation of the works of Kumarila. He suggested that as his metrical works were too difficult I might begin with those in prose. When I consulted my teacher Chitra Dhara Mishra, however, he said that the metrical works were not at all too difficult and that I could easily manage them. Thereupon I began with his help to work at the *Ślokavartika*. At the very outset however, I was handicapped by the absence of a reliable text. The work had been only once printed in the pages of the *Pandit*, and there too it was not very correctly printed. My teacher, however, had a correct manuscript written in the Telegu script and I also got from the Bengal Asiatic Society a manuscript in Deva Nagarī. With the help of these I proceeded with my work of translation and along with it I also copied out the text which was used for the printed edition, which was quickly arranged for by Govind Dasa and printed in the Chowkhamba series at Benares.

This printed edition, however, came but after I had finished my translation. I had the help of two commentaries. The older one called *Kaśika* of which my tutor possessed a copy written in his own hand. The other one was '*Nyāya-Ratnakara*' of which Govind Dasa supplied me with a copy. When I had nearly completed the translation I addressed the letter to the Late Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Har Prasad Shastri asking him if he could help in the publication of the work. I had come into contact with Shastriji through one of his assistants, Vinode Behari Kavya Tirtha, whom he had sent to Darbhanga in search of manuscripts and whom I had helped. Shastriji arranged for the publication of the work by the Bengal Asiatic Society in their series 'Bibliotheca Indica' and it was also arranged that I would get an honorarium at the rate of Rs. 3/- per printed page. The printing began and was completed by 1905. Thereafter I was asked to undertake the *Tantravārtika* which is a continuation of the *Ślokavārtika*. With the help of my teacher Pt. Chitra har Mishra I finished the translation of this voluminous work also by the middle of June 1902. This quickness of the work was due to my old habit of completing the translation of what I had read in the morning before going to bed at night. Though the printing of this was also begun immediately it could not be completed before 1924. It may be noted that it was the appearance of these translations that attracted to me the attention of Dr. Thibaut.

When I came to Allahabad I did the translation of *Praśasta-Pada Bhāṣya* along with its voluminous commentary *Nyāya-Kandali*. This was published in the '*Pandit*' in 1916. All that the publisher gave me for this was a complete set of the '*Pandit*'.

When my friend late Rai Bahadur Sri Chandra Basu started his series called the '*Sacred Books of the Hindus*' he assigned to me the volume on *Pūrva-Mīmāṅsa-Sūtras*. I did three Adhyāyas of this work and then gave it up on account of bad health and the work was completed by a Vakil of the High Court, Manmohan Sanyal.

As already explained above Dr. Thibaut had his plan of preparing an Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy. As preliminary to this we decided to translate all the more important text-books on the various systems. We wished to include in this the most difficult as also the most easy books. Among the difficult texts we selected (1) *Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khandya*, (2) the *Advaita-Siddhi*, (3) the *Nyāya-Sūtra-Bhāṣya* and *Vārtika*, (4) the *Śābara-Bhāṣya*, (5) the *Vivaraṇa-Prameya Saṅgraha*. Dr. Thibaut himself undertook the last one, and I began with the first one. As regards the publication of these works we planned to publish a quarterly Journal containing instalments of these translations and long articles on important subjects and reviews of important publications. Both of us were to be editors and also the proprietors of the Journal, and all the management was done by myself. We selected the Indian Press for this work. The first number came out in due course containing 32 pages of *Khaṇḍana* and 32 pages of *Vivaraṇa-Prameya-Saṅgraha*, Dr. Thibaut's article on Indian Astoronomy and his review on Hillebrandt's Indian Mythology. This was very well received and we got a sufficient number of subscribers to enable us to proceed with the work without any loss, if not with much profit. Just as our first number came out troubles arose in connection with the Partition of Bengal which led to the passing of the Press Act which made it risky for Presses, which were required to make certain declarations. Though I had been officially assured by the Collector that no such declarations would be required in connection with *Indianr Thought*, yet Chintamani Babu the Proprietor of the Indian Press was so nervous about it that he refused to carry on the printing of *Indian Thought*. I had, therefore, to go to the Belvedere Press, kept by my old friend B. Madan Mohan, with the curious result that when the second number appeared though the printing

and get up were distinctly inferior we had to pay more; because the rate of printing per page at the Belvedere Press was two annas higher than that at the Indian Press. However, the work continued at the Belvedere Press till it ceased in 1918. Among the easier books selected for translation were *Tarka-Bhaṣā* and '*Kāvyālaṅkāra-Sūtravritti*'. Both of these were done by me. The former has been reprinted at Poona in 1924. In addition to these two I completed in *Indian Thought* the translations of *Khaṇḍana* and the *Nyāya-Sūtra* etc; the former in two volumes and the latter in four. The *Vivaraṇa-Prameya-Saṅgraha* could not be completed, because Dr. Thibaut's transfer to Calcutta left him no time for any literary work. The '*Advaita Siddhi*' also I did not complete because I found that it bristled with the cumbrous technicalities of '*Navya-Nyāya*' which could not be made intelligible in any other language.

The *Khaṇḍana* is a work that deserves greater publicity than it had received. It presents a peculiarly extreme phase of Vedānta, which phase I am told has its reflection in modern European Philosophy also.

The *Nyāya-Sūtra-Bhṣāya* I took up for translation in a spirit more of bravado than of wisdom. This was a work that had been attempted by the great scholar Dr. Ballantyne, the first Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College. On his retirement it was continued by his pupil Mahamahopadhyay Pt. Keshava Shastri. The work of these two however, did not go beyond a few pages. Subsequently it was taken up by a friend of mine Pt. Banamali Chakravarti who was at Benares Hindu College and then went on to Assam. I met him in Calcutta and asked him what progress he had made with the work. He told me that he had given it up as he found it too difficult. I thereupon decided to undertake the work and with a view to make the task more difficult and therefore, better worth doing, I decided to include the very rare work *Nyāyavārtika* also. The whole thing, therefore, became voluminous; but I managed to complete it by 1918 so that the eleventh and the last volume of *Indian Thought* consisted entirely of the concluding *Adhyāyas* of this work.

Sometime about 1920 I was asked by the Calcutta University to under take the translation of Medhā-Tithi's *Manu-Bhāṣya*. When I began to do the work I found that both printed texts, the one published by the Hon'ble

Mr. Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, as well as the recent one published by Prof. J. R. Gharpure, were hopelessly corrupt. In fact this Bhāṣya, as it has come down to us, is a literary curiosity. From internal evidence it seems the work was done between the 8th and 9th centuries. But even as early as the 11th century it became practically lost, at least scattered about so that a reduction was got done by a certain king named Madana who ruled somewhere near Delhi in the 11th century with the help of various portions of the work brought together from various parts of the country. This fact is stated in a verse that is found at the end of almost all the manuscripts that are available now. This verse is as follows :—

> Mānyā Kapi manusmṛitistaducitā Vyākhyāpi Medhātitheḥ
> Sā luptaiva Vidhervaśāt Kvacidapi Prāpyanna tatpustakam
> Dhīraḥ Śrī Madanaḥ Sahāruṇisuto deśāntarādahṛltair
> Jīrṇoddhāra macī karattata itastat pustakairlekhitaiḥ"

To my horror I very soon found out that the person who was responsible for this revised text was far from competent. Several pages of matter have been misplaced and no attempt appears to have been made to collate the different readings, or even to locate the text. Another curious fact about this work is that this revised text is wanting in the explanations of some very important texts bearing upon inheritance; that this lacuna is due to the revision, is clear from the fact that it appears in all the available manuscripts which seem to have been copied out of the same *Mātrkiā*. That these lost portions of Medhatithi existed as late as the 14th and 15th centuries is clear from quotations from this portion made in the *'Viṛāda Ratnākara'* of Caṇ.eswara and some other digests. When I looked out for manuscripts of the book I got one from the library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, one from the library of the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona; another from the Bhonsle Library at Nagpur; and through the Government I secured 9 manuscripts from the India Office Library. With the help of all these I made out some sort of a readable and understandable text and then proceeded to translate it. All this took a long time and the book was finally printed in 1929. It consists of 8 volumes; 5 volumes of texts and 3 volumes of notes. The honorarium promised to me by the University was Rs. 5/– per printed page. This, therefore, represents my largest literary earning. At the instance of Sir Ashutosh

my corrected text also was published by the Bengal Asiatic Society. For this, however, I got no remuneration. Sometime about 1931 or 32 the Baroda Government asked me to translate the '*Śābara-Bhāṣya*'. This was published in 3 volumes by the Baroda Oriental Institute during 1933-36. The same Government also asked me to do the translation of the Buddhist work *Tattva-Saṅgraha*. This also is complete. The first volume was published in 1937 and the second and concluding volume has now been printed. The same Government asked me to do the translation of *Vivāda Cintāmaṇi*. This also is in the press. In addition to all these I have edited 15 books, 13 in Sanskrit and 2 in Maithili.

9. LIFE AFTER RETIREMNET.

Only a few days before my retirement, i. e. on the 4th of November 1932, my wife died. This altered the entire course of my life. A few weeks before this I had received the invitation from Baroda to deliver the lectures already spoken of before. My wife had for a long time been expressing the desire to go to Dwarka and as Dwarka is within 24 hours journey from Baroda I told her that this was a fine opportunity for going to Dwarka. She was very much pleased at the prospect but unfortunately within a few days of this her illness took a serious turn which ended in her death. I went to Baroda but could not make up my mind under the circumstances to go to Dwarka though for the purpose of visiting Matri Gaya which is located at the town of Sidhpur on the B. B. C. I. Railway I had to pass through Ahmadabad, from where the Railway branches off to Dwarka. Bhavanath was with me in this journey. We passed a night at Sidhpur, performed the rites next morning and went on to Bikaner because I had long ago promised to my third son Shiva Nath that I would come over to him sometime. At Bikaner at that time my old friend Major Ram Prasad Dube was the Prime Minister. We spent two or three days at Bikaner and then came away straight to Allahabad. Since then I have remained practically at Allahabad but during this same year 1933 I spent the summer at Mussoorie living in my own house 'Lynwood'. It was very pleasant but the worst of these hill trips for us was that we had to come away to the University for the next session. This sudden change from the cool hills to the gruelling July heat was most disagreeable and yet I could not make up my mind to stay behind at Mussoorie because even at that time, and increasingly so since then, I find that I can never live alone by myself, which appears to be desirable on religious and other grounds. Two other summers I spent at Darbhanga with Bhavanath. I have kept myself busy with literary work and have done more work than I ever expected to accomplish. The reason for this pessimism lay in my belief that the utmost that I could expect to live up to was the age of 67 years, which was the age at which father died, so that as I was already near 62 when I retired I could not expect to do much work but I plodded on in accordance with the good old maxim. *"Gṛihītaiva keśeṣu mṛityunā Dharmamācaret"*, and kept on working

throughout the day. I gave up working at night because my eyes, which had served me very well so far, began to show signs of weakness. It was during this period that I began and completed the translation of *Śabara-Bhāṣhya*. I am completing 69 now (Sept. 1940) but luckily my health at present is better than it has been during the last two or three years. The chief cause, however, of this deterioration was the death of my two daughters, Jagadhatri and Devi which happened last year within a week, following upon the death of my grand-son, Kailasha, the child of my 4th son, Vibhuti Nath. The combined shock of all these bereavements appeared at the time to be too much for my enfeebled body. But I have stood it all and have passed through it as if through a cleansing process. It seems, therefore, that there is much truth in the Hindu belief that our sufferings in this life constitute the payment of debts incurred during the past life through our misdeeds; and as such, they should be welcomed in a spirit of relief. It is small consolation at the time; but after sometime has elapsed, it becomes easier to reconcile one's self to this philosophy which provides the only source of consolation.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION INTO ROMAN

अ	a	ॠ	ṝ
आ	ā	ए	e
इ	i	ऐ	ai
ई	ī	ओ	o
उ	u	औ	au
ऊ	ū	अनुस्वार	ṁ
ऋ	ṛ	विसर्ग	ḥ

क्	k
ख्	kh
ग्	g
घ्	gh
ङ्	ṅ
च्	c
छ्	ch
ज्	j
झ्	jh
ञ्	ñ
ट्	ṭ
ठ्	ṭh
ड्	ḍ
ढ्	ḍh
ण्	ṇ
त्	t
थ्	th
द्	d
ध्	dh
न्	n
प्	p
फ्	ph
ब्	b
भ्	bh
म्	m
य्	y
र्	r
ल्	l
व्	v
श्	ś
ष्	ṣ
स्	s
ह्	h
क्ष्	kṣ
त्र्	tr
ज्ञ	jñ

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